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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
ON THE
Education of Backward, Truant,
Delinquent and Dependent
Children



BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

August, 26, 27, 28

1913

Proceedings of the
Tenth Annual Conference
on the Education of
Backward, Truant, Delinquent
and Dependent Children



Buffalo, N. Y.

Aug. 26-28

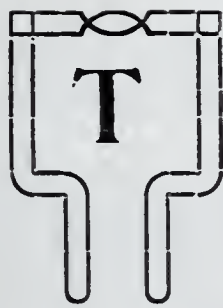
1913

Work Done by the Printing Class of the
Lyman School for Boys
Westboro, Mass.



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THE Tenth Annual Session of the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children convened in Buffalo, N.Y. August 26, 27 and 28, 1913. All sessions were held in Assembly Room of the Hotel Statler. All sessions were presided over by the President of the Conference, the Hon. G. S. Adams, Judge of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland, Ohio.

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Superintendent Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass.

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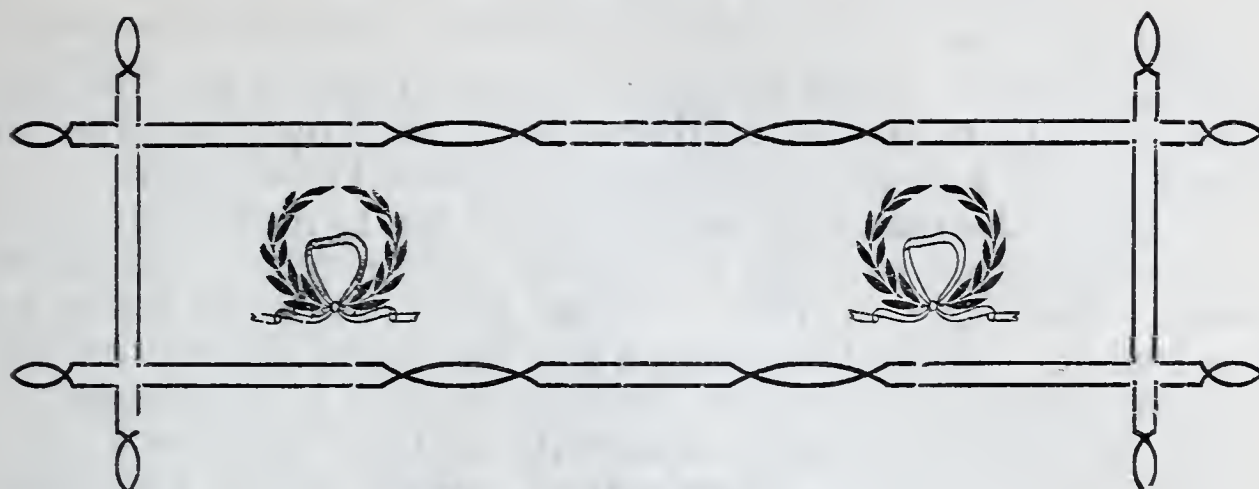
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First Session

Tuesday Morning, August 26, 10 o'clock.

PRESIDING: Hon. George S. Addams, President.

THE PRESIDENT: The session will be opened by Mr. Elmer L. Coffeen, superintendent of the Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass., who will speak on "The Correlation of School and Trade-Work."

The Correlation of School and Trade Work.

By Elmer L. Coffeen.

Superintendent Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass.

Mr. Chairman:

Instead of reading a paper I wish to make my remarks more or less informal and perhaps the discussion will bring out some of the points that may seem of most interest. The Conference will have to pardon me if my remarks are more or less of a personal nature.

At the Lincondale School, of which Brother Barnabas is superintendent and at the Orphanage on the Hudson and at the Lyman School and some of the other industrial schools, there has been an experiment and an endeavor to take up the theory of education as expounded by Dr. Dewey and Dr. McMurray, that is, basing the new knowledge of the boy and girl upon previous knowledge and previous experience and relating this to the doctrine of interest and bringing about a correlation of industrial work and literary studies. For instance, in the matter of geography, if the desire is to study about the City of Minneapolis they will study the history and literature that pertains to that locality and especially the local history and the local industries and endeavor to discover why Minneapolis is a milling center, why it developed into a

railroad center. They correlate the geography with the history, perhaps with the mathematics and language, and in that way get a more thorough and broader knowledge.

During the past year and a half at the Lyman School we have endeavored to bring this about with reference to trade work. The idea is this. These boys take up some of the trades. We will say that a boy has taken up one of the following lines; farm work, dairying, printing or carpentry. What we are endeavoring to do with relation to this at the Lyman School is this. Boys attend school every afternoon from one to five o'clock; have about four hours of schooling each day during five days of the week. We give them half time in school and half time at work. They have in that way one week in which they will work all day at the trade and the next week work half a day and go to school during the afternoon. We have organized industrial classes. That is, boys taking up the printing trade will work during the morning in the office and in the afternoon attend school one week. In these classes the work in mathematics will be based along the lines of the special trade of each boy. For instance, for the printer there is the question of paper, the amount that it will take for any given job; the folding of the paper, for the different lines of work, and what it will cost; then estimating the number of thousand ems it will take in any job. The mathematics of printing will be taken up and the problems given in the arithmetic classes will apply to the printing trade. In history the boys take up the history of printing and study it and its influence and the influence of it today. Then the question of paper, there are indefinite ramifications of it; how paper is made, and they have succeeded in gathering together different exhibits which show paper in different stages of manufacture. The different qualities and kinds of paper used in the printing trade are observed.

Now, why do it? The object in this is to let the boy see that there is something more to the printing trade than the mere setting of type or running of the press. Then, they take up the study of the different kind of presses which are made, not only the kinds in the school, but those used in the daily printing offices and the different makes.

With reference to the carpenter's trade; you can see readily what the training in mathematics would be. If any building is to be constructed the boys can take measurements and study the plans of the building, estimating the number of feet of lumber in any portion of it, even when it is wholly or partially constructed of wood.

Then we take up the question of lumber. We will take up the different kinds of wood; they will study the different kinds and where they grow from its standing in the forest until the tree perhaps is in their hands, in their own shop. The teacher has considerable facilities in that line and makes the work very interesting and lets the boys see the broader features of this particular trade.

Then, of course, in the matter of literature; they have much that applies to each particular trade. Likewise in masonry, we will take and apply it to any building we may have, whether it is constructed of cement, brick, or stone, and they will work out in mathematics everything pertaining to it so far as possible. They can take the process of making concrete and something of the making of mortar and the different ingredients and the using of the different proportions of sand, gravel, cement, water and the mixing of it, and the principles by which these different ingredients are held together. All of these things can be profitably taken up.

In blacksmithing the boys are unlimited in their opportunities for study especially when taking up the method of making iron and steel. We give them what is a very interesting fund of knowledge. The average time that we have the boys is nineteen months. It takes us some time to discover the attitude of the boy, so perhaps he is not working over nine or ten months at a specified trade, but it does give him a start, an inspiration, an insight and a broader outlook upon it and that is the purpose for which we are trying this experiment and it is succeeding in a way. We do not claim everything for it, because there are certain boys who are not sufficiently advanced to take up a trade. An interest, however, is aroused. For instance, many of these boys have been at war with the public school and they couldn't see the value of certain studies; they couldn't see any relation of it to their life and as to what bearing it might have in the future.

The result was that they became truants and finally became delinquents. By showing them the practical applications of these different studies and by correlating the different branches of study with the trades, we have succeeded in arousing quite an interest among many of the boys in their trades and school work and in a few instances the boys have, instead of going to their trades when they left the school, gone on with the intellectual side of the work.

THE PRESIDENT: The discussion of this paper was to have been opened by Brother Barnabas. I never knew him to fail before, but I do not see him here now. I believe we

will have the other paper of the morning before we open the discussion. Two subjects so closely related can be discussed together.

Mr. Roberts, who is our supervisor of manual training in Cleveland has for a long time entertained the idea that education has something to do with life, but he could not make anyone else connected with the Cleveland schools believe it. However, upon every occasion, in season and out, but unobtrusively, he advanced this idea. Finally it began to germinate in the minds of our school authorities and finally bore as its fruit the elementary industrial school. These educators now claim it as their own, about a dozen of them, but we who are familiar with the situation know the credit belongs to Mr. Roberts.

Not a great while ago I went down to this school, the Elementary Industrial School, and I was surprised to find what a bright lot of interested children he had there. I visited the manual training classes. In the cooking class they were making raisin bread. After a while I went into the arithmetic class and there were the same girls whom I had seen in the domestic science class and here they were still dealing with raisin bread for on the board they had the receipt for raisin bread and they were figuring out how much the various ingredients cost, and they seem to be able to learn mathematics from something actual and real. They were greatly interested and after a while they had figured what it had all cost and the teacher wanted to know what I thought of it, and I told her the answer was not right. The girls were surprised. It just happened that very day that I had bought some eggs, and when they wanted to know what was wrong I said, "Your answer is wrong because eggs are twenty eight cents a dozen, not twenty six. They were certain they were right about it and I was certain I was right. "Oh," I said, "I see you do not use strictly fresh eggs." This they resented. Finally the teacher said: "Mary, go out and call up Southworth, the grocer, and find out how much eggs are a dozen." Mary came back much chagrined to have to acknowledge that eggs were twenty eight cents a dozen, so I marched out of the room in triumph saying as I left that I hoped the next time they would know what eggs cost.

Now Mr. Roberts is going to tell us something about real life in the public schools.

MR. W. E. ROBERTS, OF CLEVELAND: It is embarrassing to me to have Judge Addams attribute to me so much of the success of this

school of which I shall speak in my paper. It is not altogether due to me. However, I thank him.

In the beginning I want to say that I am honored in being asked to address this body of people. Among you are true educators and I am honored in coming before you. I say this, not because it is customary, but because I mean it. Heretofore there has been altogether too much truth in the statement that a boy to get a useful education must commit a crime. Our parental schools and reformatories are the places where a boy gets his first taste of a practical education, where he has his first school experience in life and in actual living.

Activity in Education a Preventive of Delinquency

W. E. Roberts

My thesis is that juvenile delinquency would be materially diminished if public education were more closely related to the interests, needs and capabilities of the widely diversified child life and mind represented in our public schools, particularly in our large cities.

Broadly speaking the child's power to express himself is shown in two ways, verbally and abstractly, about things unrelated to experience, and concretely through activity or about things related to experience. There is no clear line of demarkation between the types. They reach all the way from one extreme to another and may be fairly well balanced in the individual. They are more or less indicated by temperament. The child of the extreme verbal, abstract type is ordinarily docile, undemonstrative, the delight of the teacher and the community in general, and it is a fairly sure guess that the child who makes trouble in school, in the home and the community is usually of the activity type that expresses self making things happen in a very concrete way. This is not a scientific statement of the case. The deductions are those that anyone may make from personal observation if he cares to turn his thought in this direction.

The unfortunate assumption of our plan of public education is that all children are, or should be mentally of the same type and that their powers of expression are along the same general line. Still more unfortunate is the apparent assumption that the natural or desirable means of expression are the abstract and verbal, rather than the concrete or through activity. Acting on these assumptions courses of study are arranged to appeal to the abstract, memory type of mind which finds satisfaction in images, symbolisms and verbal ex-

pression. As a matter of fact the large majority of children express themselves concretely. Through action, by making things happen, and for training in this kind of expression the school makes no provision, or makes it under compulsion in a half-hearted and unrelated way that is of little avail.

Such a state of educational affairs is not altogether surprising when one considers for a moment the history of education. Modern education has always been dominated by Greek Ideals and when our more immediate educational ancestors gave rather definite form to the art of teaching at about the time of the Renaissance, Greek culture became the dominating factor in education and has ever since held not altogether undisputed but all powerful sway. The pedagog of the Renaissance was interested in the child only as material for the future classical student who failing to meet the demands upon him was discarded as a useless by-product. And in effect the same thing is true of our schools today. Certain standards are set up to mark the course along the road to culture and by them the contestant must be measured. For those who fall by the way we have sympathy, not altogether unmixed scorn. It is to be regretted, but they could never learn. Later we are astounded that so many of these hopeless discards find places of responsibility and prominence in the active affairs of life.

Thus educational tradition centuries old holds us in its grasp, in spite of the protests of a few great men, who have shone like beacon lights along the borders of education, that life and experience have a place in the schools and that human activities are important educational factors.

On the other hand it is surprising that there has been so little change in the aim of public education in view of certain facts in relation to human and social development that are clear to all who care to think. In the first place the development of the race has been along the line of activity. The steps in the line of march from savagery to civilization are clearly marked by the development of certain industries which are distinctly the expression of thought through activity. Again, the significant, effective advance of society today is expressed largely in terms of action, through mentally directed bodily activity. Finally, the natural development of the child is along the line of activity and his tendency is to express himself concretely or through action. Activity is the only correct means of expression for the very small child and by its means he can express self in a thousand ways before he can use the medium of words, and when speech is ac-

quired its use is all about activities. Every material available is utilized by the young child and numberless outlets for activity are discovered if we will allow them, and this continues until the child goes to school at the age of six, when it ends, except as he can catch up in holidays and vacations.

It is surprising that in spite of these obvious facts our public schools fail almost universally to recognize the great factor of activity in the development of the child. Education should have a very intimate relation to present life as well as future needs, and life experiences which come largely through activity should be recognized as educational forces. Living is really the most important thing in life and this fact should be recognized in the schools.

The element in school work which relates it to the experience of the child is the point in life about which the real interest of the child centers and which calls forth his greatest effort. One has but to follow the average child through the elementary schools to realize the truth of this assertion. In the kindergarten and first grade almost without exception the child is happy, eager and responsive and his interest is intense. By the time the third grade is reached and thereafter, all this is changed. Vital interest is gone. The tasks of school life are met largely under compulsion or from sense of duty. It is about this age that delinquency begins to show itself in the form of truancy with all its attendant evils which increase as the school age advances. In the early years, school work deals almost wholly with actual life experiences. In the later years it deals with abstraction, unrelated to experience, and under restraint and the attendant formality and uniformity of school life the extreme activity type of child becomes crushed, submissive and hopeless at one extreme or breaks loose in some form of naughtiness or law breaking at the other extreme. The early school work deals with the concrete, the present, with actual living; the later almost wholly with the abstract, the remote, with what we call preparation for life. The genuine appeal of the public school is the few who naturally express themselves abstractly rather than to the many who express themselves in action or about activities. This is significant when one remembers that the elements which make for efficiency in life are those that find expression in activity.

In the vast field of activities available for use in the schools almost every essential of the elementary school curriculum can find living expression, almost every principle can find illustration in actual experience. Where activities have

been utilized to the fullest extent possible it has been shown beyond a doubt that enthusiasm, spontaneity, interest, purpose and independence of thought and action have developed, even in those who have lost all interest in school life and as some of you well know through your institutional work many who have become offenders against the law have been reclaimed to honorable citizenship through the beneficent educational influence of directed and applied activity.

To show how this problem may be met I propose to give you, not a hypothetical solution but a brief account of something that has actually been done, with accomplished results.

Four years ago there was opened in Cleveland under the direction of W. H. Elson what has been called the Elementary Industrial School. This school was an experiment. Incidentally it was to have a pre-vocation aim but primarily its purpose was to meet the needs of that great class of children who because of inability to fill the requirements of the traditional school course are retarded or drop out of school at about the sixth grade. The assumption was that children of this class were not necessarily dull or lacking in ability or, as sometimes appears, incorrigible. They were of the concrete type of mind who naturally expressed themselves through activity, whereas the work of the regular school courses dealt almost wholly with symbolism and abstractions demanded by preparation for higher education.

The aim of the school therefore was to broaden the elementary school course of study to include activities which would give opportunity for concrete expression and relate the work of the schools to the experience of life, thereby setting a broader standard of culture for grammar school graduation.

The requirements of the school were that the children should have been one year in the sixth grade although not necessarily have finished the work of that grade, and that they must be at least thirteen years of age.

The school day was lengthened from five to six hours, and one half of each day was to be devoted to hand work and the remaining half to academic subjects. It will be seen that while one hour or one fifth time was added to the total school day, two hours or two fifths time was deducted from the academic studies as usually given in the regular grammar schools. This is important in view of the results that followed. The course was to cover two years corresponding to the seventh and eighth grades. The program was arranged on the departmental plan, each teacher teaching one subject, the classes changing at the end of the periods or alternate periods.

The school day was divided into eight three quarter periods with an added period for lunch.

In presenting the work of the school I speak of what is being done rather than what was anticipated. The occupational work is naturally the central feature of the course and in this work the other subjects find much of their application. This includes mechanical drawing, elementary and advanced woodwork, including lathe work, and printing for the boys, and home economics including cooking sewing, laundry work, nursing, etc., for the girls. All have free hand drawing applied to the academic subjects, and in design and color to the various occupational work. Some simple metal work and book binding are also included.

The academic work includes three subjects, English, mathematics, and geography-history, each one period a day, the fourth academic period being devoted to study.

The important feature of the school is the unity and interdependence of the subjects taught, providing opportunity for concrete expression through activities. To show this in detail would be impossible here. A single illustration will give a better idea of the methods than can be conveyed by an outline of the course of study.

Let us suppose that an order is received for a gross of a piece of apparatus to be used in the school. This is presented as a problem to a class of eighteen or twenty. First it serves as a lesson for the drafting room, including drawing and specifications. In the shop it may serve first as an individual problem, each pupil making a single piece, estimating material, recording time, etc., on forms provided by the printing department. The complete lot is next worked up on the cooperative or shop plan and interesting comparisons are made. The complete contract affords material for the mathematics class; a discussion of the geometrical principles involved estimate of the amount of material, allowing for waste, cost at prevailing prices, estimate of time, and cost of construction at a given wage, allowed for overhead charges, estimate of selling price at a given percent profit, making of pay rolls, writing orders, bills, checks, etc., involving practically all the essentials of arithmetic, including the fundamental processes, fractions, percentage, and mensuration. The English department is afforded opportunity for business correspondence in connection with proposals and orders and for composition work, descriptive processes, etc. In the meantime the class has studied in the geography room the various materials used, the locations and characteristics of the forests producing

different kinds and the whole lumbering process from the standing tree to the kiln dried surface board, supplemented by every possible illustration, including a class visit to a local saw mill and lumber company. If the construction involves proportion and design the art room is called into service. The activity end of the problem might be one of the sewing or cooking room with much the same application to academic work. It is authentic and typical and could be multiplied indefinitely.

Should not such a problem be of greater interest than the unrelated text book work in different subjects in the regular grade school? Incidentally no text books are required of pupils in this school and they are used only for reference. The printing department furnishes outlines prepared by the teachers.

The selection of the pupils for the new school was to be made pro-rata by the principals and teachers of some seventy odd grammar schools, the attendance to be subject to the consent of the parents. Under these conditions I leave to your imagination the types of children sent to the new school and some of the terrors of the first few weeks. It would hardly do to tell all I know and all I feel. The opening of the school brought together from all parts of the city one hundred and forty-three boys and girls, mostly of the sixth grade and of an average age of about fourteen years. As anticipated, most of them proved to be the hand minded type, inapt in academic studies, discouraged and irregular in habits and, measured by traditional grammar school standards' decidedly not strong pupils.

The significant thing in my paper that has bearing upon our topic is the effect upon children of the work and method I have barely mentioned. The dominating impression from first acquaintance with this group of children was of their utter hopelessness, expressed in all degrees from dumb and cowed indifference to aggressive insolence. As a whole they were a rather pathetic group. Discouragement and discontent were every where manifest. They had come to believe the oft given assurance that they were dull and stupid and could never learn, and they rebelled against an intangible injustice in an order of things but vaguely understood. They were marked by a general slouching manner and posture and by irregularity in habits. Particularly marked was their inattention and lack of power to concentrate their thoughts upon the subject in mind and their almost uniform inability to express themselves even in the simplest way and about the

simplest things. They had lost confidence and faith in themselves.

Under the influence of the new work and the thoughtful and sympathetic guidance of teachers these children began to find themselves. They discovered that they possessed powers hitherto unrealized, and they were not so stupid as they had been led to believe, that there were many things, particularly in the occupational work, that they could do and do well, and that academic subjects had meaning and value in the solution of live problems. Confidence began to be restored and with it came self respect, frankness and poise. Personality asserted itself in the development of manly and womanly qualities. Buoyance and freedom took the place of reticence and distrust. Happiness now pervades the school. It is shown in the faces of the children at work in their classes or as they move with perfect freedom about the building. The school is an embodiment of that sentiment so often expressed by Dr. Kerschensteiner, "Joy of the worker in his work". Earnestness, concentration and attention are everywhere shown in the classroom and children enter in the discussion of the lesson topics with eagerness and freedom. These points are always noted and commented upon by visitors, as well as the marked difference in appearance between beginning and advanced classes. Lastly and most significant of all in the eyes of the teachers is the remarkable development of power in academic studies. The relation of these subjects to intelligible, understandable problems has given them meaning and discovered in the pupils powers before unrealized.

Of the original one hundred and forty three pupils some were lost during the year, for practically all reached within that time the age at which the schools through the law could not hold them. Sixty-five returned the second year to complete the course. At the opening of the school no definite standards were set or credits promised, this question being left for judgment based on results accomplished. At the end of the year fifty three of the sixty five were given grammar school graduation diplomas. Of this first graduation class twenty entered high school in September and some continued their studies in evening high schools. Naturally most turned to the technical high schools. One at least made good for two years in an academic high school and left to fill a position in a large insurance company. "too good to be missed" to quote the boys own words. Two have since graduated. I have not the exact figures but I am sure the percentage of those

who entered high school and are making good is as great as the average from the grammar grades of the city, and those who do not go to high school are at least started with high ideals and ambitions toward useful and best of all happy lives.

I quote the following lines from a recent address by Dr. W. N. Hailman; "I have already indicated that much still remains to be done in order to vitalize the elementary school, that the school still is prone to place undue stress on the remote, the abstract, the verbal, the formal with corresponding neglect of the near, the concrete, the actual, the practical; that there still is too much stopping short with mere knowledge getting and too little opportunity for applying knowledge to actual interests and purposes of life; and that the school hereby becomes distasteful to the children, a hindrance, rather than help in further growth and development."

I am of the opinion that the schools in their insistence upon the sufficiency of the traditional course of study, with its emphasis on the value of training in memory and abstract verbal expression, may be not only a hindrance, but may with certain types of children contribute to delinquency. Activity is inherent in child life. It is the dominant element and the hope of many. Directed, it may become a factor for good, for power, for success. Neglected or suppressed, it may become a menace to the child and to society. The schools should recognize this fact. Formation is better than reformation.

DISCUSSION

DR. HASTINGS H. HART, OF THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION OF NEW YORK CITY: There are two institutions which you must not fail to see along the line of the discussion this morning when you visit New York City. Those are the New York Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson, and the New Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Asylum at Pleasantville, of which Dr. Bernstein is superintendent. Both are old institutions moved up from the city. Dr. Bernstein moved a year ago.

The plan on which Dr. Reeder of the New York Orphanage carries on his work is weaving the whole of the child's life into his education. He is doing it with extraordinary skill. I have never seen children who seem to be more really absorbed in their education and school work.

Dr. Bernstein is attempting the same thing from a different angle. He is taking largely the Russian Jewish children from New York City who have come from the most unfortunate environment. They have spent a million dollars in a plant for five hundred children and it is an ideal plant in every respect, ideal for the purpose and plan being pursued there. Dr. Bernstein is giving his children industrial education with their school-

astic education. What he is undertaking to do is this. He says these children never can get a high school education, but he proposes in nine years to accomplish at Pleasantville what the public schools are undertaking in twelve years. That is, a child in the first grade will be graduated from high school in nine years. I think anyone at Peoria will say that these children are being forced and are going to suffer and the results will be crude and unsatisfactory, but it will not do to pronounce judgment in advance. There are three hundred boarded out in families. They do not bring the little children into the school. There is a certain number of defective children among them. Every child learns Hebrew; they all learn German and I never have seen pupils that have the working knowledge of German that they have. A large proportion of them learn French, a large proportion learn Latin. These children begin at the start with industrial training. The boy of seven goes into the carpenter shop, blacksmith shop and machine shop and that is carried on through the grades. The girls begin with sewing and dressmaking and millinery and so on. These children are intensely interested in their work. They have three weeks vacation and perhaps altogether their vacation amounts to about five weeks taking into consideration the various holidays, but they are working intensely with astonishing enthusiasm and they are accomplishing work along the lines described to us. I don't think anybody ought to go to see one of these institutions without seeing the other. I am watching those schools with the utmost interest. I think the work being done is of the most vital interest to every educator. I don't think anybody can question the value of the method being pursued by Dr. Reeder, but if Dr. Bernstein can accomplish what he says he is going to, and if by working side by side in the school of letters and industrial training classes he can produce as good results, it is a significant thing. While I feel in doubt as to whether Dr. Bernstein is going to land where he hopes to, nobody can question his ability and skill, and he is really doing a very wonderful thing.

MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER OF DARLINGTON, PA: I would like to ask a question. What is going to prevent those children from becoming institutionalized if you are going to keep them for nine years in institutions? I am only arising to ask that question. You hear so much of children becoming institutionalized.

DR. HART: I am free to say that personally I don't believe in the theory but I am very much delighted that those people are willing to make the confession; that they will place out their young children and board them in families when they find a child in school that seems to be suffering from school treatment. I am looking at the problem not with reference to dealing with orphan children, but with reference to the educational experiment, not because I believe in bringing up children in the orphan asylum.

Dr. S. WOLENSTEIN OF CLEVELAND, OHIO: I understand this discussion is on the paper my friend read and on the remarks that have been made by the first speaker this morning. Now, there comes to my mind an expression by which Mr. Roberts introduced his paper by saying that a child needs now-a-days to commit a crime in order to receive an education as he pointed out. Two institutions have been named to you where children are receiving the benefits of this splendid education that has been explained to you and pointed out to you. Now it would be immodest on my part if I were to add that there are some other institutions where children are receiving industrial training and education. There is the institution under my care and I think I am one of the beginners in that line of education. We have given our children industrial education for the last twenty years and we have been very successful.

I want to answer the question of Mrs. Falconer. They are not institutionalized. We haven't got an institution. We have got a home and they are the children of the home. I do not consider it an ideal way of raising children, but for orphan children I consider it an ideal place for raising them in a home and not placing them out and pay board for them to people who have no interest in them. But this is not the matter I want to discuss.

I believe Mr. Roberts has shown that it is not necessary for a child to commit a crime or to become an orphan in order to receive such an education. He has shown you that there are in Cleveland children that have never been delinquent, and are not orphans, who are receiving this education. When the question is asked whether this is alone the reason for delinquency, we mustn't forget that there is an altogether different factor yet, because delinquency is not only among the poor. Delinquency is due to a very large extent, perhaps more than known, to the lack of home life, the lack of home education, and it is the street life to which those children are exposed and the moving picture shows that are causing delinquency notwithstanding all the education that is being given them, and in that direction the work ought to be done and I hope that the start that has been made in Cleveland and which has produced the greatest success will be continued in other cities, and at gatherings like this where people of education and people who are in the line of education are concerned, that they will bring it home, what it means to give our children a natural and industrial education.

MR. GEORGE R. BROWN OF YONKERS, N. Y.: I believe this matter is a serious one, as Mrs. Amigh and Mrs. Falconer will touch upon their side of the story of institutionalizing their children. Dr. Hart has spoken from his side. When any of you go to New York City and visit these two institutions of which he has spoken I want you to bear in mind two things. First, what he said in his little speech that he looks at from this point of view. His point of view largely is not that of the institution worker.

We will say of these two institutions that Dr. Reeder has perhaps made the greatest success in his line of work of any man in New York State. Dr. Reeder started in almost entirely with the idea of academic instruction. If I am incorrect in any of my statements, I wish any of the friends present to correct me, because I am not visiting these institutions every day, but Dr. Reeder has changed largely his point of view not in his papers, but in his work, and that side of the story is the side that appeals to Dr. Wolfenstein and some of the rest of us who are day by day working with the children. Now, Dr. Reeder with his work has spent and is proposing to spend probably \$50 per child when the other institutions of which Dr. Hart has spoken can spend \$1. You, who are workers in the institution life, know just what it means. You friends who went to Dr. Wolfenstein's last year and saw those children and the care and trials that the attendants had in their efforts to do the right thing for those children, you marvelled perhaps at the patience of the Doctor in handling those cases, but you knew that that patience would bring out the result in the end. Now, we have to prepare these children in almost every case for self preservation. Let's put it as strong as that—self preservation. No friend to help, everybody apparently a foe to their effort to get an existence. Dr. Reeder came back to the industrial work. He visited the institution with which I was connected, with which I am still in a measure connected, looked over that work, the industrial work. Had a man say to me a while ago, a man prominent in public and institutional life, "Why don't you do so and so?" He wanted in the first

year the finished pupil in industrial work. In this particular instance i was in gardening and farming. He wanted to know why a child shouldn't be trusted in the greenhouses with the most expensive plants that were specimens to encourage the child to go on and reach a knowledge of these things and he was surprised when I told him the first step was washing the flower pots. So we have got to consider what we are going to do in the one, two, or ten years we may have the child; that is, in fitting them for a work they have got to meet and take up. We can talk, we intuition people, of the child who refuses to leave the home. One superintendent spoke of a boy who was refused continuance in his institution, but who later on broke into the institution in order that he might get back. We have got to fit those children in some way, by some means, so they will understand that they cannot break in again, but have to fight the fight of life. Now, let's consider that as the practical, not the theoretical side of the story, and let's help the children the best we may, with the helpers we get and with the work we ourselves can do along practical lines, and that means to give them a reason why a thing should be done, to call their attention to what perhaps the school teachers do not know, and which our Chairman has spoken of, as to the value in money and in the every-day matters of life.

MRS. AMIGH OF ALABAMA: It seems to me that in speaking about Dr. Reeder that he has a wonderful chance to do excellent work with his children because they are orphans. Now, there isn't a superintendent within the sound of my voice that doesn't know that the family back of the child has a great deal to do with that child's improvement or otherwise. Perhaps they don't all feel it as much as I do and perhaps it isn't brought to you as closely as to me. In Alabama we have nothing to deal with except the American born white girl, born on that soil for generations, and the greatest drawback to that girl's improvement is the family she came from. Sometimes people come to me (I have possibly three or four orphan girls in the home) and say, "I suppose these girls are nearly all orphans." "No," I say, "I wish they were." But if they will go back to the families, the beginning, the life they have had, the actual vice that they have learned and the way the children have been brought up, they will see at once that the superintendent who has all orphan children to look after has to begin with something that he can do as he pleases and make men and women of them without any interference from their blood relations.

Mrs. Falconer spoke of children becoming institutionalized. I don't know what Dr. Hart used to think, but a long time ago I used to talk with him, but whatever he thought then I know he thinks now, that there are a good many more who ought to be institutionalized than there used to be. They ought to stay there during life under State supervision; they cannot have brains furnished by us as superintendents or by any teacher and they should be institutionalized. It isn't right for us to make our institutions such that the children will feel that they are prisoners. We can make them, as Dr. Wolfenstein said, homes, and where they are organized on the cottage plan there is no reason why there shouldn't be more or less home life. I am getting letters by the hundreds from girls who used to be under our care at Geneva and who are now wives and mothers of families, saying, "It was the most blessed day in my life when somebody saw I was going wrong and placed me in Geneva. I would never have known what it meant to keep a home and save if I had not been sent to Geneva." That old idea of talking about children becoming institutionalized ought to be exploded to a certain extent. We have to look at many of these things from a practical standpoint. We

don't all have the money to educate and train these girls and boys as we would like to do, and when you have a State that is always saying to you, "We cannot spend so much money on these girls, we have got to keep within bounds," and so on—they are more liberal later on—but I am going through the same old stage now, you have got to use what little you can get hold of to the very best possible advantage: (Applause)

MRS. WEST OF MEMPHIS TENN.: I merely wanted to say that the Juvenile Court in Memphis is not quite four years old. We have a commission form of government there and while we had a juvenile court law for some years we had no court at all until the day this commission government went into office. But we have a school laid out along the lines that Dr. Roberts told us about this morning, laid out largely because we had studied the success of his work and I want to give expression of our gratitude to him, laid out largely because of the work in Chicago in the Juvenile Court School under Miss Scully there. That was an inspiration to us in Memphis and our school grew out of memory of that school in Chicago.

Memphis is not a large city, only about 200,000 people, but with a court not quite four years old, we have a school with three teachers supplied by the Board of Education with industrial training for those girls and manual training for those boys. Two more teachers are to be given us this fall; a professional nurse in the school to teach the children what to do for themselves and what to do for others, and a nurse who goes to those poor homes where those probationers come from and who is teaching those bad fathers and mothers some of the things that they ought to know, and I feel having come such a very long way that I wanted to tell you all of that.

THE PRESIDENT: The industrial school that Mr. Roberts speaks of is hampered by the school principals who select the children to go to his school. Many of them pride themselves because they have never sent a child to that school just as a great many principals of classical high schools pride themselves that they have never sent a child to a technical high school. One high school principal said to me "I have never sent but five children to a technical high school; they failed in their work here." I said, "You ought to have sent many. You sent only your failures, but there were probably a large number who could have learned a great deal more and learned it much more easily by going to the technical high school." But just as the scientific courses had to fight their way in colleges, just so now the kind of education that these people have been talking about is having to fight its way in the elementary school, and it is encouraging that men who have been educated for the ministry, like Dr. Hart and Dr. Wolfenstein, are beginning to recognize this. The old educators away back in New England laid out a course of study that led up to the ministry and every child in the public schools has to take that course, and teachers have forgotten all about this large number of children who quit at the fifth grade, and it has never dawned upon them that such children ought to have a different kind of education.

I was talking to one high school principal and telling him that children learned by doing, that there were some who could think in the abstract and others must learn by doing the concrete, and I went on to tell him how hard it was for me to learn Latin and Greek, and he said, "Well, I hope my children have brains enough to master Latin and Greek." That man didn't know there were different kinds of brains. We have school teachers here and I would like to here from some of them, and as the time is growing short, I think we had better limit the discussion to five minutes.

DR. HICKSON, OF VINELAND, N. J.: I was interested and grat-

ified to hear of the great work being done along the educational line with all these unfortunate children, but I was sorry to hear that one side of the question was entirely ignored; otherwise, I wouldn't have inflicted myself on you just now.

We who are interested in pathology find that there are different levels of intelligence and different kinds of intelligence, and we find in studying these cases at Vineland and before I went to Vineland, that as I went through the defective classes, as I went through the reformatories, as I went through the orphan asylums, I had no difficulty in picking out these different kinds of children. Now, as one speaker has said, they should be institutionalized all their lives. Another wanted to get hold of the parents. She hasn't gone far enough. She should get hold of the great great grandparents. We find so many of these children are psychopaths. We divide them easily. You look at those children and you see they have many many more signs or stigmata of degeneration than you will find in the average school children. You look through your rogues gallery and reformatory and you will see they all have marks of psychopathy on them. We have no difficulty in dividing these children into different classes. First, there is the epileptoid group. No difficulty in picking them out. You have your moral imbeciles, another quite a large group, and they require a different line of treatment. You have your plain psychopaths. I think this is the fundamental side of the question. I think the educational side is very important, especially the vocational side for these children. Unfortunately, I think the academic side must be neglected. In America we are tending too much that way. The first thing a European says about the American is, "You haven't any ideals." "You are simply grinding along and haven't any ideals at all." I think we should have psychopathic clinics. I think we should have these clinics not only for the assistance of the schools, but for the grades. I think these children require individual treatment and furthermore I think they should be diagnosed and classified. You folks are working from the top and we are no further along today than twenty years ago and I have gone into those institutions and picked out these various classes of cases and they were astonished. There is the feeble-minded group. You cannot do anything for those children. They are better off in institutions all their lives. But there is a certain group of these cases, the epileptoid group, who can be more or less self-sustaining in the world and perhaps go out and be self-supporting. The fact that the boy spoken of broke into the institution shows that they cannot adjust themselves to this outward environment, but these cases can be trained along farming lines, etc., and can be made more or less self-sustaining.

THE PRESIDENT: I have been hinting for Miss Scully to say a word.

MISS SCULLY OF CHICAGO, ILL.: Judge Addams, I am a school teacher and I think that the public school is shifting the responsibility to institutions and jails, etc. I rather believe if the teacher were allowed to keep Johnny or Tommy there until he absolutely finished his work we could shut him out from many institutions. It is 3:15 or 4:00 o'clock, the popular hour for closing school—I am talking from what I have seen in Chicago. I had several years of teaching before going into the Juvenile Court. Not finishing school, I began very young, but my brothers and sisters minded me and I supposed every other child ought to mind me. When this boy thought he couldn't finish his problem or lesson, I just allowed him to stay there until it was completed, and in Chicago when they couldn't manage a boy he was sent to me and I took it for my duty and for ten years I taught the unmanageable boys. I didn't always go to

school with my book or handkerchief in my hand, but at noontime I would show the girls how to sew, but as soon as the bell struck everything had to be put out of sight because I would be disobeying this academic rule. Now I take a perfect delight in crocheting during school hours. I steal the time it seems and actually can do real handwork in school hours. My arms were generally full going to school. I was carrying many queer things, but I couldn't keep them interested only in that way. Then came this wonderful stereopticon and I saw the possibility many years ago of having one right in the school room and that is where I lost a tailor-made suit I was going to have and have never had since. That is really how I got it. I had these boys in that eighth grade, young men transferred especially to me, and they took care of the stereopticon. They had the biggest show in Chicago. We went to an entertainment where a man gave a lecture on Jamaica and they said, "Yes, pretty good, but you ought to see the big stereopticon we have in our school."

I believe absolutely in discipline; to have that child stay there and know that he must obey someone sometime. We all must learn this or we suffer. I think that is the only solution of the problem, and many of our boys and girls could be brought out well through discipline. It is not because I want to be harsh with the child, but it takes a great deal of love to sit there until one o'clock in the morning and see that he completes his task. Every time I have told a boy to accomplish a task he has finished it.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe in discipline; we must learn to do what we ought to do rather than what we want to do. But Miss Scully has something beside discipline. She tells us incidentally of things she does which hold the interest of her pupils. What this meeting is protesting against is the hampering of teachers that know how to be interesting. When Miss Scully wanted to keep up the interest after 4:00 P. M. the rules of the school prevented and work that held attention stopped with the opening bell. Of course, hampered as they are, there are many teachers who interest their pupils. Stereopticons are now common in schools and moving pictures will be; they make things real. We have a few minutes left.

MR. EDWARD N. CLOPPER, HOUSE OF REFUGE, CINCINNATI, OHIO: I think there can be no question about the desirability of industrial education for certain classes of children who need it. How to determine what children need the various kinds of instruction, how in these different institutions and the public schools is the child fitted into the training which he particularly needs, to me is very important. Is this determined by means of psychological tests, by periods of long observation, or by trying the child in the different tasks until the one most suited to his capabilities is discovered? I would like to know about the practical method of determining upon which job fits the child.

THE PRESIDENT: We have but a few minutes left and I think that question will be up for general discussion at another meeting. Dr. Lewis arose as Mr. Clopper spoke.

DR. ORLANDO F. LEWIS OF NEW YORK CITY, SECRETARY NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION: I would like tell a little incident which happened in the Washington Irving High School in New York City a few months ago when Mr. Waldman of the United Hebrew Charities and I visited that school. You know probably that the Washington Irving High School is peculiar unto itself. It is a school where the individuality of the child is supposed to be given the largest range. It is presided over by a man of remarkable attributes, a Scotchman, who in very much an insurgent. He makes everybody envious who goes to the

school who has come up under a previous generation to see what the children have a chance to do there. We went into one class which had recently come from one of the branch schools. The big building had just been built. Formerly the children were in the various branches and didn't have that central supervision to the same extent. The principal said to the children, who had, I imagine, rarely seen him, "Now, children what did you learn?" The very presence of the principal seemed to inhibit the children from thinking as independently and quickly as they ordinarily would. He asked one thing after another in order to bring out what they had been learning. There was really a woeful lack of ability on the part of the children. I felt it was a physical and mental inhibition to do the things they could. Finally he said turning to me somewhat angrily, the trouble with these children is that they will not think. He tried them again. "Now, children, there are two clocks. One says two o'clock and one says three o'clock, what time is it?" They all said five o'clock. What he had done was to get them on the run, so they thought automatically. As we went out of the room, he turned to me and with a great deal of feeling he said, "Mr. Lewis, the trouble after all is not with the children. You may have thought I was brusque with children; the trouble in New York City largely is with the teachers." I am just handing you this for your thought. The trouble is so many of our teachers do not do independent thinking, work too automatically, work too much in routine, too much in the periods of the day, and haven't themselves been trained sufficiently in thought. But if that is true, we may say, *pari-phrasing* the old statement that as the water rises no higher than the source, so the child's mind in school is inhibited from rising higher than the teacher. The child trained in the old normal school method, it is going to be quite a time before we are going to solve some of these difficulties we have been listening to this morning. I want personally to thank everybody who has spoken for giving us such an intensely illuminating session this morning.

MR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON OF ALBANY: I think, Mr. Chairman, that the Johnson family should be represented here this morning. The Chairman has already referred to Alexander the Great, who, for some reason or other remained silent, and since his voice is not heard, it seems to me for the honor of the family, one who is less distinguished should speak.

I think the two papers we have heard this morning have given us a splendid perspective of the new movements in the educational field. These new movements may be properly called the progressive movement in education. This progressive movement is *contra-distinguished* to the old standpatters who were very much adverse to having anything introduced in education opposed to that which was classical and abstract which has no use for the abstract or classical, and this progressive movement in education to-day which takes such cognizance of the differences in children has largely received its impetus from institutional workers. I think it is true that the institutional men and women blazed the way for real vocational work and for industrial training which now is being recognized by schools outside of institutions. I think one of the popular reactions that comes to us who attend these conferences is a feeling of despondency when we compare our own institution and efforts and the results to those about which we hear at the conferences. We are apt to feel, "Well I guess we are not doing a 100 per cent. job after all," but there is this consolation to us all, that no institution yet devised or originated, no method in philanthropy has yet been able to turn out a 100 per cent. of goodness or purity. I think the one thing we can do is to take these

things we have heard as our ideal, the ideal which we must attempt to practice, for no Institution can be exactly like or similar to another. Dr. Wolfenstein's institution is dissimilar from Dr. Reeder's or Dr. Bernstein's, and yet all working along lines of efficiency, and I feel personally that the thing I have to do as superintendent of an institution is to study my own particular institution, study the amount of funds I have to do with, study the caliber and character of children I have in my care, and then look at my ideal and see to what extent I can with the funds I have and material I have to work with approximate the ideal of vocational efficiency, of preparation for life. Over the door of every institution there should be an inscription, not that old Greek inscription 'Abandon hope ye who enter here', but to every one who goes to an institution, 'Look for life ye who enter here'. And my institution may be impoverished in funds, may have a poor character of inmates, but it is my hope and my purpose as an institution superintendent, by vocational methods, manual methods, classical methods, or any method, to bring the boys and girls in my care up to a standard where they are prepared for life as life may meet them. So I accept these papers this morning as giving us the ideal toward which we inevitably should in our own method, in our own way, try to approximate.

THE PRESIDENT: I run an institution with two inmates. We do not have a school at the house but we send the inmates out to the public schools. If in connection with their arithmetic I give them a problem similar to those in their books they can solve it, but if I give them a practical problem involving the same principle based on measurements to be made by themselves they are apt to fail. They have been dealing with abstractions and cannot do the practical problem, and yet I know my inmates are perfectly capable of doing these problems if they are trained right.

My boy wants to play bank and I have to go with him into every bank we pass. One time we went into one of the big banks at home and one of the officers said, "What are you doing in here?" I replied, "This boy is crazy about banks." "Well, come on," said he; and he showed us around, and took us back into the vault and had him lift the bags of coin. When I went home I found the bookcase converted into a vault and I had to lift a salt-bag with flat irons in it which represented the coin. Now, if I had time to take advantage of that boy's interest in a few days I could have taught him everything concerning bank discount and interest by taking advantage of his awakened interest.

The public school system so often blocks the teacher when she has a live idea. That is why you institution people can teach so much to the public schools. You are not bound to a system that kills enthusiasm. Your academic work is vivified by your industrial teaching and work. However, it is easy to generalize. There is often poor teaching in institutions and some of the work now being done in the regular schools is of a very high order. After all it is largely a question of the teacher.

We meet again at 2:00 o'clock in joint session with the National Probation Association. The room, I presume, will be crowded, and I hope you will all come early. Dr. Hart will preside. That means that the meeting will be lively and interesting. There is some expense involved in our meeting here and the more we get for memberships the less some of us will have to contribute toward a deficit, so we hope everybody will join the association. The meeting stands adjourned.

Second Session

Joint Session with National Probation Association.

Presiding: Hon. George S. Addams, President.

THE PRESIDENT: It would seem presumptuous on my part to undertake to introduce the leader of this afternoon's discussion. He has been over thirty years in charity work in its various branches and certainly no one is more familiar with the different kinds of philanthropic work than he is. His activities in the past are of particular interest to those who are engaged in juvenile court and probation work. There are various people that claim to be the father of the Juvenile Court, but he is its real father. It was he who conceived the idea of treating a child as a delinquent instead of a criminal. When the Chicago Bar Association appointed its committee to investigate conditions among children in Chicago, they appointed Hon. Harvey Hurd the chairman of a committee to make the investigation and he called around him the people of Chicago who were interested in that line of work, the work with children, and among them was Dr. Hart who was then located there, and they assigned to him the duty of drafting the first copy of the law. After he had completed his draft, it was turned over to Judge Hurd and the committee. They went over the law word by word, considering the legal significance and social significance of every phrase, but it was remarkable how similar the final draft of that law was to the first one which Dr. Hart drew. So his work means a great deal to this Association that is gathered here this afternoon. But instead of resting on his laurels, after having done a great thing, he has gone on. He is now the head of the Children's Bureau of the Russell Sage Foundation and his discussion this afternoon is on a topic which is vital in our work. Since the Binet scale has been used in institutions and juvenile courts we are discovering that very many of our children are defective, so the discussion of this afternoon is probably as vital as any on our program. I will now turn the meeting over to Dr. Hart.

DISCUSSION

DR. HASTINGS H. HART OF NEW YORK:

I am always obliged to recall and relate an experience I had when we were leaving St. Paul after fifteen years in Minnesota to go to Chicago. My little daughter nine years old was saying her evening prayer. She

had had two or three pretty good days in school, which she didn't always have. She said "Dear Lord, help me to keep my reputation; at least until we get to Chicago; that won't be very long; "So when the Judge gives me a great deal of credit that don't belong to me I feel that I must keep up my reputation. It is true I had a share in the Inauguration of the juvenile court law, of which I am very proud, but there is no more credit due to me than to several other members of that committee. The real credit belongs to the late Harvey B. Hurd, who was a great constitutional lawyer and one of the most whole-hearted and devoted men that ever lived in Illinois, and I shouldn't be willing to detract in the slightest degree from the credit that belongs to Judge Hurd who shaped the law. I did have the honor of making the original draft but I couldn't agree with Judge Addams as to the resemblance of the final form and the rough draft I made.

We are to discuss this afternoon what I believe to be the most crucial question with which we have to do in dealing with the whole problem of the delinquent child. I know of nothing at the present time that is so critical, so acute and at the same time so difficult to handle as the problem of the delinquent child and the problem of the defective children. There are some people getting exercised because we are not making greater progress in dealing with this question, but if you consider that it is less than five years since the first effort was made to classify the delinquent child in the reformatory institutions of the United States, it is only five years ago that Miss Dewson & Mrs. Evans of Massachusetts made the first effort to classify and separate the girls of the defective class in the Lancaster institution in Massachusetts, you will agree that much progress has been made. They went into a study covering some seven or eight hundred girls from analyzing the figures which they published, I judge that their estimate of those that were to be classed as being probably feeble-minded would make about 28 per cent. of that whole number. Not long ago, Dr. Fernald of Massachusetts said he believed 50 per cent. of the inmates of Lancaster School were feeble-minded. The difference would be accounted for by the fact that we are beginning to study these girls and to recognize as feeble-minded those that were not formerly recognized as such. The very timely invention of the term "Moron" which was invented by Dr. Goddard added 25 per cent. to the number of feeble-minded children in the United States. That is, the Moron is the high grade imbecile, formerly regarded as dull and backward. My own belief is that the kind of meeting we had this morning is by all means the most profitable for this kind of convention. I do not believe in a meeting consisting of a series of papers, especially seven or eight papers in two hours, and it is not my intention either to read a paper or to take up any large amount of time. I have had distributed an outline which I hope will guide our discussion this afternoon and I would like to have all of you look it over in order to avoid the danger of discussing the last part of the program in the first part. I hope we shall confine ourselves to this general outline. The first deals with Diagnosis; the second with Extinction; the third with the Defective Delinquent Boy.

The first of these questions which I suggest is Diagnosis; how to discover the defective delinquent. Now, as I have said, I think only a few years ago any average superintendent if asked how many defective feeble minded boys there were in his institution would have said probably 10 per cent are feeble minded. From thirty year's experience I recognized a good many years ago that there were a large number of feeble minded children in the reform schools. As I have said, the study made in the Lancaster School indicated about 28 per cent. Subsequently the matter was taken

up in the Elmira Reformatory and the estimate was about 37 per cent. and then in Rahway, and they found 41 per cent. to be properly classified as feeble-minded. I had an examination made in the Girls Industrial School in Baltimore and I didn't dare publish the figures when at first an expert psychologist reported 65 per cent. feeble-minded, but I saw the superintendent and she said she believed that estimate was reasonably correct. Now, the fact of this large number—and I don't know anybody but believes we have an average of 25 per cent. in our penal reformatories, now the result of the accumulation of these children is that they keep settling down in the institution. That doesn't necessarily mean that all the children coming to the institution are feeble-minded, but there are always a lot of those who have hung back and you feel under obligation of keeping them there and this amounts to as high as 50 per cent. That means that the whole work of the institution is retarded. You have to adjust your discipline to those children. It means that a large part of your labor and effort of your teachers in efforts to develop what isn't in the children to be developed is wasted. It means that the brighter children are held back and retarded and the whole progress of the school is embarrassed and hindered. Dr. Goddard has said what seemed to be a very harsh statement that every feeble-minded child is a potential criminal. Now, a criminal is a violator of the law and the feeble-minded child through his lack of intellectual perception, through the way he is influenced and led, is liable to become a criminal. The first question is how to discover the defective delinquent. I have noted in the outline "By observation of the parent in the home; By observation of the teacher in school; By psychological tests", and then I suggested how they are to be standardized and how to be applied. Now, I suggest that we spend the next thirty minutes in the discussion of this subject of diagnosis, how to discover the defective delinquent, and I hope we shall confine the discussion at this point to that subject. It appeared from the session this morning that it was very much preferred by those who were listeners that each speaker should come to the platform. This is a free platform, first come first served, and then announce their names and where they are from in order that the stenographer may get a record of each speaker. Let's proceed as promptly as possible and the limit will be five minutes for each speaker. You will have to volunteer and it is a case of first come, first served. There are always some modest people who hesitate to speak because they feel they are thrusting themselves forward. If they will speak first they will get out of the way and make room for others. There are surely some of you superintendents who have had some experience in this matter of employing psychologists and some experience in the matter of the observation of your ordinary superintendents and teachers as to the mental conditions of your inmates. There are also some who are engaged in this work as psychologist.

JUDGE HARVEY H. BAKER, JUVENILE COURT BOSTON, MASS: I wish to call attention to one point in this outline which I have no doubt will be brought out. I have seen nothing here about who shall apply the test, except the parent and the teacher. Those are perhaps useful as beginnings, but I am quite clear that with the defective delinquent; that is, the delinquent who is not straight feeble-minded of the obvious type, the test ought to be applied only by a man who has as a foundation the training of the physician and he may have added the training of psychology. Those who are content to leave the determination of these cursory cases to the psychologist or possibly even to the teacher to determine, with some training in psychology, then when it comes to the Moron or high grade, we are going to be in serious trouble, and I believe

we cannot with fairness to the child, to his parents, and to the community, attempt to classify the high grade feeble-minded without the assistance of a physician with a training as a psychologist added, such as Dr. Healy has in Chicago. I believe that of the greatest importance. I believe they will discover things which might seem mere matter of mental deficiency, and I wish to put my word wherever this matter is discussed for persons advising the institutions or the grades who have the training of the physician with the training of the psychologist, to test out these high grade cases. I hope whatever comes out of this discussion today it will be borne in mind that that is the proposition I want put to people dealing with this matter. They train the principal of their school department in their little institution to use the Binet test. I say there is danger of unfairness coming from that. I am ready to say that on the high grade case that even Dr. Goddard is not as well qualified to test out a case as a man with Dr. Healy's training. I mention names only to bring the point home.

DR. HART: There has been a suggestion recently that for such cases as have been described by Judge Baker there ought to be a probationary institution where these children can be kept under observation until it is determined whether the defect is due to feeble-mindedness or not.

JUDGE BAKER: I say that is an admirable scheme. I approve heartily of what our commissioner in Massachusetts has advocated of the commitment of offenders, both children and grown-ups, to some board who will test them out before anything like a time sentence is imposed.

DR. HART: The chair has purposely refrained from suggesting things for the reason that he didn't want to anticipate what might be said by the speakers from the floor.

MR. ALBERT J. SARGENT, CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER POSTON, MASS: I just come to say a word to supplement what Judge Baker has already said relative to the testing of these cases. I want to take upon myself or give myself credit for suggesting to the chief justice in the Municipal Court of Boston the advisability of appointing a trained physician to pass upon these cases while going through the court. That question was taken up by the chief justice at a meeting of all the justices and discussed at much length and while we are dealing with adult offenders, it was decided that they would appoint a physician or a trained psychologist to pass upon those cases in connection with the probation work.

DR. HART: In dealing with those adult cases, do you anticipate that you will be able to use the same test as used for juveniles?

MR. SARGENT: We hope to develop it. They will have to begin with such a test as has been used and develop from that. There should be some standardization of such tests.

DR. HART: Questions may be asked of the speakers or the chair.

HON. FRANK E. WADE, VICE-PRESIDENT, STATE PROBATION COMMISSION, BUFFALO, N. Y: In determining the defective condition of children a scientific test is certainly the most desirable method, and, as Judge Baker has said, that test should be made by some competent person. With this in view, the Health Department of the City of Buffalo has offered to furnish to the Buffalo Children's Court a physician to devote as much time as necessary to a clinical scientific test. The judge of the children's court has consented to have that done in the Buffalo Detention Home and with this movement the State Charities Aid Association is cooperating. This scientific clinic is started now or is about to be started and I trust that the bringing of these cases under scientific observation will in the near future produce valuable results.

DR. HART: Will that include all the children brought to the Children's Court?

MR. WADE: That is unsettled yet. I would advise that it be applied to all children possible.

DR. HART: The matter of the application of tests and details is extremely difficult and sometimes rather embarrassing. For instance, in one of our reformatories for women it was found on examination that out of 100 consecutive cases there wasn't one up to normal. There is one of our institutions that has recently published a report that declared that 90 per cent. of the girls in a certain institution would be credited as three years below normal. That raises the question as to whether the test can be accurate. We will be glad to have this matter thoroughly threshed out because it is of practical importance. It is discouraging when you find that the test used with younger children does not seem to fit in dealing with older children.

MRS. BIGELOW OF ROCHESTER: To what extent can we depend upon the cooperation of the parents in diagnosing the delinquent child.

DR. HART: I think that is largely a matter of conduct and wisdom on the part of the psychologist and the chief probation officer who has to deal with those cases. I think Dr. Healy has found that parents are quite ready to cooperate and answer questions. I think it all depends upon the way in which they are approached and the feeling created in their minds. If the people feel that you are trying to create an odium they are likely to be indignant. If, however, they feel you are trying to cooperate and help them as parents, if that is put to them properly, I think parents will usually cooperate reasonably. Of course, the cooperation of the parents is useful, especially in getting at the antecedent history of the child. The study of the condition of that particular child at the particular time can be determined without the aid of the parents, but I think it is uniformly agreed that no such study is complete unless you go back into the family history. The work in Bedford goes back and traces the history of the girl as far as possible.

MISS HILL OF SLATON FARMS, PA: This question has come up. We have been working on these cases and we felt it was necessary to make some standards of the Binet test. I have worked out with two hundred girls. First, we gave the Binet test as a working basis. We then followed it through our school and with the family history and we found 50 per cent. are unfit. Those girls reach the third grade in school. We are not able to get them beyond that. Twenty per cent. of the remainder of our girls are socially unfit; girls who will never live in society, who have, however, a development of more than twelve years, but nevertheless haven't the ability to live in society. Consequently, we feel that 70 per cent. should have custodial care.

MR. PENN: If it would be appropos to ask you, what do you propose to do with that 70 per cent. of your girls after their eighteen or twenty months is spent in your institution? You said you felt they should have custodial care which now you cannot give them. Could you tell us what you are going to do along that line?

MISS HILL: My plan has been at the end of two years to make a very careful observation of all of our different types. At the end of two years to make a comparative study and then we hope to ask your Legislature for provision in those cases. The 20 per cent. are girls who have been put on parole and have come back over and over again and are now being kept in the institution because they cannot live on parole outside.

MR. PENN: When they become 21, you have no further care.

MISS HILL: We can do nothing more after they are 21.

COLONEL ADAMS: Is there any juvenile court in this country today that is carrying out this work systematically? That is, a court having a paid medical director or psychologist who examines all children brought before the court and keeping a record? This matter has been discussed at a number of conferences. Has it actually been put into effect?

DR. HART: I presume Colonel Adams can answer his own question as to the Cook County Court.

COLONEL ADAMS: Those boys are examined whose appearance indicate feeble-mindedness, but there are the high graded feeble-minded that may pass unless there is a thorough examination. At St. Charles we have boys under observation. They are examined by our own physician and then later examined by Dr. Norbury of the Board of Control. What I want to get at is this: Is there any court that is doing it systematically?

MR. ALEXANDER JOHNSON, OF VINELAND, N. J.: I understand it is being done in this way in Seattle and in Los Angeles.

DR. HART: Will the speaker come to the platform.

MR. JOHNSON: The questions we have started here apply to the defective delinquent. I suppose the delinquent has done something wrong before we know that he is a delinquent so that disposes of those children who have not come to the course. There are many kinds of defectiveness. I know a lot who are defective who would not test over twelve by the Binet scale, who are morally very excellent people, who are physically strong and healthy, who are socially quite agreeable members of society. You have to remember just what you mean by defective. If you mean intellectual defective, I do not agree with Judge Baker's theory as to persons to discover them. I would prefer to have a physician make the most careful test and investigation as to physical matters, but if I were to have my choice as to who is to apply the intellectual test, I would choose a well experienced school teacher who has had psychological training. My experience with physicians—well, I have had some experiences. I just wish to emphasize the fact that we have to bear in mind very distinctly that there are many people of their kind in the United States earning their living and occupying respectable positions in society who will not test by the Binet scale the age of twelve.

DR. HART: Go on further with the matter of tests while you are here.

MR. JOHNSON: I am just beginning to learn something about tests.

JUDGE ADDAMS: He has not answered the question. What is their system of examination of feeble-minded?

MR. JOHNSON: I simply know that those two courts, Seattle and Los Angeles—they were both represented at Seattle—they are examining every child coming to the court, physically and mentally.

MR. WADE: Does the court examine every child brought into it, or is it only those children held in the detention home?

MR. JOHNSON: I understand that the examination is preliminary to the hearing. That is the place it ought to be most certainly. The judge ought to have that examination for his guidance before he hears the case.

MR. WADE: How can he take the time for a scientific test in these numerous cases? That is a long thing.

MR. JOHNSON: I presume I was extreme in saying that every child was tested. The theory is that every child that requires it should be examined.

COLONEL ADAMS: This question of the defective delinquent has been discussed at a number of congresses and this discussion has been going on for the last two or three years. It was discussed at the Prison Congresses in Baltimore and Omaha and we all seem to know or think we do what ought to be done. What is being done is what I want to know.

DR. HART: What do you believe is practical in a juvenile court hearing a large number of cases. Is it practical to undertake to have a psychological test made of every child recorded in the juvenile court?

COLONEL ADAMS: Hardly. That, is if carried out as Dr. Healy carries them out. His tests go two or three or four weeks. He goes into the family history and then continues the child under observation for a number of weeks, and unless you have a number of psychologists it would be almost impossible to examine every child.

DR. HART: Do you believe it is practical and ought to be done to have a sort of cursory psychological examination made of each child and then make a more thorough examination.

COLONEL ADAMS: Yes, I believe that is possible.

DR. HART: How should that be done?

COLONEL ADAMS: In St. Charles the examination is made by the medical director, the physician of the school, also the Binet test, and then these boys are held for a later period when they are re-examined by Dr. Dunn of the training school or by Dr. Norbury of the Board of Control and if he finds that they are feeble-minded, they are transferred to the Lincoln Training School; but 25 per cent. of the boys at St. Charles are feeble-minded (I don't know that that percentage is too large) then comes the question what is Lincoln going to do?

DR. HART: What we want now is the diagnosis, how are we going to find the defective delinquent; how are we going to find him early before his depredation becomes a serious damage to the community?

COLONEL ADDAMS: That can only be found by the court preliminary to the hearing, by the psychologist.

DR. HART: I have suggested in the syllabus some possibilities.

MRS. HODDER, SUPERINTENDENT OF SHERBURN SCHOOL: Isn't it true that that sort of work must take place in the public schools? Miss Boehne is here and perhaps she will give us an account of the work done in Rochester.

JUDGE ADDAMS: Mr. Johnson said there were two courts that did systematically examine children and mentioned Seattle and Los Angeles. His statement needs modification. Before I went to the National Conference I heard a great deal about the examinations that were made at these courts, so I determined to find out.

In Seattle a comparatively small proportion of the children who commit offences reach the Juvenile Court. The police handle a very large percentage of the cases and such cases as they desire the Juvenile Court to handle they turn over to it, so, of course, the Juvenile Court can do splendid work because it has few cases in proportion to the population. The work done in Seattle differs little from that done in many other places. It happens that the probation officer in Seattle, who knows his business as well as any man I have met, is a doctor with keen social sense who appreciates the importance of knowing a child's physical condition, but being a doctor he uses medical terms quite freely and these terms lend a medical atmosphere to the whole court. Where we use the word "investigation" he used the "diagnosis", etc. The difference is in the language rather than in the method. The corps of probation officers make their investigation exactly as is done in other places. Then the chief pro-

bation officer makes a social diagnosis. Being a doctor and a psychologist, he has a quick eye for physical or mental defects. But the Seattle court is not so different from the other courts where there is a nurse or a doctor, perhaps in a subordinate position, but who is instructed to look for these very things. The real difference between the work in Seattle and in other good courts is, in part at least, in terminology.

In Los Angeles I was disappointed with this phase of their work, although the court, taken as a whole, is a splendid institution. When I talked with the probation officers in the court I found that there is in that city a physician very busy with his own practice but who takes a great interest in social affairs, who gives gratuitously a half day or so a week to examine children sent to him by the court.

Mr. Hunter, the chief probation officer of Chicago, is here and he will tell us what they do. Dr. Healy devotes practically all his time to this work but he is not paid from the county treasury.

With us it is difficult to get the money to pay adequately for such service. A probation officer's salary is too small to justify a man equipped with a medical education in giving up private practice. I have found a doctor who has been in social work and I am trying to have him appointed jail physician and in that way he can get a salary that will be adequate and he then can devote all his time to the Juvenile Court. We have him now for a portion of his time only, but he sits with me and he sees the children as they pass before the court, and he goes to the Detention Home and sees the children detained there and finds out all he can about them. He also takes the cases that the probation officers assign to him. In most cases the examination is cursory, but when occasion demands they are thorough.

There was one other subject which Commissioner Wade mentioned; that is the manner of examining children in Buffalo. In Ohio the State Board of Administration discovered that a large percentage of the children in state institutions were feeble-minded or backward and the Board became very much disturbed about it, and of course the superintendents found that their worst children were feeble-minded. As a result the legislature passed a law, which, however, is not to go into effect until suitable institutions can be built. The law provides that the judges who now commit to state institutions shall commit to the State Board of Administration and then the State Board of Administration is to keep all these children in this institution which is to be provided until they can determine what the final disposition should be. Of course, there is a great difference among judges in eighty-eight counties. Some have social sense, some know their business, and others don't. It will be better, instead of leaving it to this hap-hazard way of determining a child's destiny, to leave it to somebody whose regular business it is to determine such matters.

DR. HART: What judges are there that would have authority?

JUDGE ADDAMS: The Juvenile and Probate courts.

DR. HART: About how many children could be sent to Columbus in a month?

JUDGE ADDAMS: As many children as now go to all state institutions. They will not stay as long as in other institutions. The plan is to keep them there only long enough to determine to what institution they should go. Now, I know Dr. Hart thinks the appropriation is not large enough to meet the needs, but the general idea is, I think, good; and that first appropriation is only the opening wedge.

DR. HART: It is very fortunate for the State of Ohio that the judges have not social sense because they could send ten thousand children to this Board of Administration and they haven't a place to put one hun-

dred so the State would be swamped; but fortunately the judges will not be likely to fall over themselves in availing themselves of this privilege.

MRS. WEST OF MEMPHIS, TENN: They ask how many courts in the country keep medical records, and I want to say again for Memphis that every child brought into the juvenile court has a thorough medical examination by a staff of competent physicians. If these physicians find it worth while to refer a child to our psychologist, we have no money to pay that psychologist, but fortunately we have a rich one in Memphis who is interested and who is glad to give his service in the juvenile court because it gives him a good field to work in and he is thoroughly interested in the work and he is going to make a further study of it, but alas—after we find what the trouble is with the child we have no place to send, them in Tennessee, so I don't know as we are any better off. We are doing our part in the juvenile court; we are making discoveries, but we can not do anything with the children; we leave them in the other institutions when we discover they are feeble-minded, but if those statistics will ever be worth anything to anybody in their standardization, we would be very glad to furnish the statistics. We can also give you some of the children if you will care for them for us.

DR. HART: The chair cannot join in the amusement in this matter, because what is going to bring Tennessee out of darkness? If Memphis will keep at it Tennessee will not go many years without having good institutions. I think Tennessee is most progressive in a way. The counties are building county reformatories. There is one at Nashville, one at Chatanooga, and other places, and local communities are bearing the burden. I have great hopes of Tennessee.

MRS. WEST: Dr. Hart and Mr. Johnson have helped teach us how to do things down there.

COMMISSIONER WADE: Dr. Barrows who has been assigned by the Department of Health in Buffalo to conduct the scientific clinic in the detention home is present.

DR. FRANKLIN W. BARROWS: I have only been in the room for about ten minutes and certainly thought I wouldn't be noticed by anyone, but Mr. Wade apparently saw I was here.

I don't know how much of a report has been given to you with regard to our plans or what we have accomplished so far in the detention home and I certainly cannot appear before you this afternoon to tell you what the judge and court may decide to do. But I can say this, that two members of the Health Department, medical inspectors of schools who are doing this psychological work in the schools, have been detailed to visit the detention home. The detention home receives a visit from one of these doctors whenever there is anything there to be done. The doctor will visit the home probably three times a week anyway, but he is sent there to take cultures for instance, from children who are to be sent to Industry or some other institution which require cultures before accepting the children. The doctor is also sent for whenever children are received who are not likely to stay long in the home, because every child receives a physical examination. That plan we have adopted and I think we are carrying out the plan with very few exceptions. Every child receives a thorough physical examination. If marked defects are found, the attention of the parents is called to this matter and an attempt is made to have these defects corrected, although of course we have not the same hold on these children as upon the school children and we cannot follow up the cases as well as in school. In cases which particularly require it, a psychological examination is given as in the public schools. The Binet test is used. I couldn't tell you because I haven't the figures at hand how many chil-

dren have received the Binet test since the 1st of December. We haven't made a record for the year as yet. We give the Binet test to boys and girls who are 12, 14, 16 and sometimes 17 years old and those of you who are familiar with the Binet test will recognize that we do not find this test satisfactory or sufficient in these cases. It will be absolutely necessary, if we are going to do anything worth while, to have other important tests which will not take too much time, because the time we have not. We must have other important tests which have commended themselves so far to leading psychologists in this kind of work. We have got to feel our way along. We have got to adopt those things which seem to be most acceptable to others and we may evolve a system of our own or we may succeed in working fairly well on a system someone else has evolved. We don't expect to do this work satisfactorily with the Binet test. Many cases have been found to be distinctly feeble-minded and I think we have been able to direct the future course of these cases in a most advantageous way.

DR. HART: Any questions to be asked?

DR. BARROWS: I want you to understand that this work is done entirely at public expense, but not very much public expense. The Health department pays the salaries of these workers and the court has very kindly bought all the material we need. We hope they will buy more. I believe that this movement is going to grow and I think eventually every child will have a mental examination as well as the physical examination; because I believe people will realize more and more not only the desirability, but the necessity of this kind of study.

MR. PENN: Will you suggest to us supplementary examinations?

DR. BARROWS: I do not feel that I have had much experience to suggest to a body of this kind, but I think the Healy test will have to be given a trial and I have no doubt we will adopt some of them. I wish they were standardized. What we will be doing a year from now I don't know.

MRS. AMIGH: I gather from what you said you thought the Binet test failed in some particular.

DR. BARROWS: The Binet test is adapted from birth to 12 years of age. There is no test for the age of 13, 14. There is a test for the age of 15, but that produces such irregular results that I don't feel we are very much better off. So for children above that age, from 12 up to 17, we have got to have something different. I don't know what it is going to be.

DR. HART: The chair is very reluctant to arrest the discussion at this time. We have now run over fifteen minutes. The next case of our inquiry is No. 2, The Extinction of the Defective Delinquent, and I have classified that under three heads. First, eugenics, how to best studied and applied, and I take it in speaking of eugenics in this connection—well, I will let you make your own application. Second, sterilization, its uses and limitations; third, segregation, how far applicable; how far useful. Ought departments for defective delinquents to be established in connection with juvenile and adult reformatories? Ought separate institutions for defective delinquents to be established?

You are doubtless aware that there is legislation in this State contemplated for a separate institution for defective delinquents and at the same time it is probable that there will be established a department in connection with the Bedford Reformatory for defective women, and in several of the juvenile reformatories separate cottages are being set apart for delinquents. The superintendents have been forced to take that action and there is a question as to whether it is more desirable to establish separate departments at these institutions. We have just twenty minutes

for a discussion of this phase of this subject, — The Practical Means for the Extinction of the Defective Delinquent. It is rather amazing to see how the audience warmed up at the last end. It is like some prayer meetings I used to attend; they got warmed up at the end. Are you people going to get the legislature to give you money to establish a separate department in your institutions, or are you going to have those delinquents transferred to special institutions? Speak up.

JUDGE HARVEY H. BAKER OF BOSTON, MASS: I hope that all the heads of institutions are going to hammer their legislatures vigorously for appropriations for separate institutions entirely for the defective delinquent. As I understand the ordinary defective, he or she is a child requiring prolonged custodial treatment contemplating the possibility of permanent custodial treatment. Now, all of the superintendents here hope they are running schools which train their wards to the point of graduation. That is the idea which every child is given when he goes in. It is the aim which, as I understand it, the officers of the school have in mind, that they are to be graduated and going to go out and take their place in the world. Now when a child comes with the investigation of your expert disclosing the child so defective that probably for many years he will not be a fit member of society at large, you cannot run him on the same basis; he cannot be graduated, and he is in trouble. Of course you will have to have your separate cottage until other institutions are provided. It means you are trying to run two classes of institutions. In Massachusetts they provided a law in relation to these defective delinquents that was a makeshift. Now, they have amended the law so that they will leave it possible to establish departments, but they have opened a loophole for establishing an entirely separate department, and I hope the pressure will go forward for the establishment of an entirely separate department for the delinquent. From a layman's standpoint, it does seem that the treatment of the defective delinquent is a very different proposition from the treatment of the child who is fairly normal and whom you hope to graduate into the community at a fairly early date.

MRS. AMIGH: This question of defective delinquents has been one that has wrought me from head to foot, ever since I have been in the work. It was one of the first things I found out when I went into the work. I found that a great proportion were mentally deficient and were not responsible for many of the things they did. Now then, Judge Baker is speaking about these different places to take care of the delinquent. There is also as many classes of them as there are grades in the school, you might say. We have the girl in our school who is distinctly defective, almost feeble-minded, but with no vicious tendencies whatever. Then we have girls there who are feeble-minded and who are very vicious who form just the class our criminals come from. Then we have the class there that seem to be feeble-minded when they come to us, after studying them we find it has been lack of nourishment, lack of proper activity for the child, and one especially that I am thinking of now, a little girl 11 years old and she is small for that age, and they said they thought she was feeble-minded and I don't believe she is. That child has lacked nourishment and has never had a chance to play like the other children and it is easy to see what headway she has made during the five weeks she has been with us. There needs to be careful examination of these children to see just what grade they can be placed in and exactly what can be done for them. There isn't any question in my mind about the percentage of girls and boys in institutions and I don't believe either 25 per cent., or 28 per cent., will begin to cover it where they are so feeble-minded or lacking in mental ability that they will never be able to adjust themselves to society with any advantage

to themselves. Not that they want to do wrong themselves, but there is always that class that some other person is going to make a tool of. It is done in the schools amongst the girls and boys themselves and it is done in the outside world. This is one of the most important questions for the good of humanity, for the future citizenship of any State, that can possibly be taken up. You go back in the country and a girl is brought into court. You say, "Why, judge, that girl is feeble-minded." "Oh! no, she can learn in school." "But, judge, she is feeble-minded; that is a sure thing. You see it in her motion and every look of her eye, but because she can learn in school, because she can learn in work, they think she must be all right and that she ought to suffer for what she has done and in Alabama they have been in the habit of arresting these girls, arresting for misdemeanors, and sentencing them to the mines. Can you imagine anything more preposterous than that? I had one girl that had been sentenced to the mines, only 15 years of age, a pretty, bright girl and a normal girl, but she had been led off, and finally some person who thought that was a pity to see the young girl go to the mines, interfered and wrote to some of the ladies in Birmingham to know if there wasn't some place there for this girl. It behooves each and every one of us who have these girls and boys under our care to call someone's attention to it to see that injustice is not done, but that a segregation of this class for the good of the community and commonwealth must take place is very patent to everyone who has been in this work.

MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER, DARLINGTON, PA: The psychologist in connection with our school has told you that she found 50 per cent. mentally deficient. When we have the courage and get our breath and find she has only examined in all two hundred, I am wondering if there is going to be enough left to be able to turn the key in the door. It is a question we must face. I am trying to educate and persuade my directors that we must take care of the mentally deficient; they hold up their hands in horror and say this is not a feeble-minded school. I for one am tired of disciplining the girls. Give them good times, recreation, try to build them up physically, mentally and morally. Why turn her out to fill up the maternity homes or drift into prostitution? I am tired of that. They must be capable of adjusting themselves to the environment. Now, we might just as well face it and get custodial care; it is going to be a tremendous job to give the custodial care to the delinquent. We are trying to fit her to go out into the world again; it is going to be a whale of a job friends. The whole scheme will have to be adjusted. When that girl knows she isn't going to get out in eighteen months or so, we will have to keep her there and protect society. Why go on in this blind, fool way, filling up maternity homes and have these girls drift into prostitution? Dr. Hart spoke of Tennessee with encouragement. I wish he might speak of dear old Pennsylvania; I wish we might be looking forward to doing things as speedily as in Tennessee. At present there is no place to-day for the care of the feeble-minded girl or woman and so I would be willing to undertake it in that reformatory, and that is the difference between the reformatory to-day and years ago. The work of the reformatory has changed and we ought to give custodial care to 70 per cent. of our girls. Let's face it and do it, but we will have to educate the dear sentimentalist; we have got to educate the courts and the politicians, and her parents; the mother is going insane, etc. educate all those people in order to give that girl custodial care which I think we must do. That is the only sensible, sound thing to do; after we have examined and lived with that girl to go back into court and say that we think that girl ought to have custodial care and we will be willing to undertake it.

DR. HART: Now bear in mind we are discussing the matter of the extinction of the defective delinquent. Mrs. Falconer has intimated that the first thing that must be done in legislation is that which will give us control of the feeble-minded person. That is to say, in most of the States of the Union a feeble-minded person can be removed from the institution at the pleasure of the parent or guardian. It is impossible to do anything under those conditions. In a juvenile reformatory after a little the child appears improved and can read in the third reader, the child has become well behaved, the child has become obedient and attactable, and the child is able to do things helpfully, and the parents say, "We will take her home." We urge them to let the girl stay longer, but the next time they come, that child goes home. We must have legislation so that the State shall be able to hold that child. We haven't any question about the insane person. Yet we let the feeble-minded person go at the pleasure of their guardian or parents and we hold the insane person. The difference is that the feeble-minded person is much more dangerous to the community because the feeble-minded person is much more likely to become a criminal and transmit the infirmity to the next generation. We must have another piece of legislation and that is when the feeble-minded person is discovered in a public institution, prison, or adult reformatory, juvenile reformatory, in an almshouse, whenever we discover such a person, then we must have provision of law whereby without sending that person back to the county from which they came, there can be held a legal inquest which shall establish and declare the fact of feeble-mindedness and then the State holds her and she does not go back.

MRS. AMY F. EVERALL: The feeble-minded situation in Massachusetts is almost an alarming one. The number of girls committed to us of this class, increases every year. It is quite a common occurrence for one of the Judges to call me up and say he has a girl who is decidedly feeble-minded, who has no parental supervision and is running a rapid pace. He asks my advice. Knowing as I do, the crowded conditions in our two excellent institutions for the feeble-minded and knowing the grave necessity for custodial care for this class of girl, I always advise commitment to Lancaster, even though it hinders greatly our training of the normal girls. Our's is supposed to be a training school for girls mentally able to profit by such training and who can then go out into the community and earn their own living. The incompetency of the feeble-minded girl, as well as the pitfalls she is so easily led into, makes it quite impossible for us to parole her as we do the normal girl. Because of this fact, we found it necessary to segregate these girls, adapt their course of training to their abilities, and make them as happy and contented as possible while they are with us. As rapidly as there is an opening in one of the institutions for the feeble-minded, we make the transfer.

It may interest you to know how we made our selection and then how we secured a spirit of happiness and contentment in this cottage. All the girls in the School were given the Binet test. This, together with observations made by our experienced officers, led us to determine our girls of lowest mentality. There are about fifty of them. These were put into our largest cottage. Now the problem was to make them contented, at the same time keep them busy and develop mentality if possible. On my first visit to the cottage a few days after they had assembled there, I was met with glum and sour looks, as some of the brighter of the girls recognized deficiencies in other girls and resented having been classified with them. I even heard talk among the girls of this being a cottage for the feeble-minded, that they weren't feeble-minded, etc. I then asked how many girls there were feeble-minded. This was met with a laugh. I

told them I wanted such talk stopped. I said, "Girls, you know there are two institutions for the feeble-minded in this State. You also know that we are very crowded here at Lancaster. Now, why if I had feeble-minded girls here, wouldn't I transfer them to the institutions to which they belong, to make more room here?" They hadn't looked at the situation in this way before, and concluded they had judged falsely; that most assuredly if any of them were considered feeble-minded they would be sent elsewhere. The sour looks began to disappear. I then evidenced as much enthusiasm as I could muster and told them I wanted their help in an experiment I was going to try. I told them I had purchased looms on which they would be taught to make crash and lace. The number of yards they made would be counted and recorded, and reported to the Trustees at the end of the year. They could feel that they were a real help to the School in supplying the lace used for trimming chapel dresses and in supplying crash for towels. I told them they could have an acre of the land immediately back of their cottage, for cultivation, and that they could raise just one thing or a variety, as they saw fit. All of our girls work out on the farm more or less during the summer—but these girls could confine their efforts to their own plot. Before I left, there was the greatest interest and enthusiasm shown. They felt that they were the favored few selected to make the experiment a success and were determined to show the other girls what they could do.

Some of these girls attend school classes in their cottage. Others who make no progress in the school-room, are kept at industrial work entirely. We have these girls do much of the outside work too, such as assisting in the laying of the cement walks, etc. The girls love this kind of work, and the out-door exercise is healthful.

Occasionally a girl comes to me from this cottage and says she has been here two years or more, and doesn't see why she can't be paroled. I ask her if she feels she does her work satisfactorily in such a way as a woman would want her to do it if she were paying her wages for it. She usually admits that the officers in the cottage find it necessary to supervise her considerably and that she still has much to learn.

These girls are not taught to make their own dresses as it seems an impossible task to accomplish. They do rather, crocheting, knitting, and loom work, and their dresses are made for them by other classes.

A great deal is done to entertain these girls, and we find the most childish things amuse them. It requires a great deal of patience and interest on the part of the officers to secure results. It adds greatly to the cares of the administration, however, as exceptions to so many rules have to be made for these girls. It causes the Superintendent to practically run two institutions, and takes room from normal girls whom we could train to again fill places in society.

DISCUSSION

DR. HART: Now we have drifted into the third subject, The Defective Delinquent Girl; first as a peril to the community (heredity and infection); second, as a ward of the mother state; third, as a ward of her own parents.

I must confess that the question of the feeble-minded girl is getting on my nerves. I think there isn't anything more dreadful to-day in our civilization; I don't think there is anything more dreadful in the community today than the treatment accorded to the feeble-minded girl. A nor-

mal child, six, seven, or eight years old at large in the community, if any man in the community presumes to offer vice to that child, if a man treats the child with indignity, if he uses vile language, if he endeavors to induce the child away for evil purpose, every right-minded man in the community will protect that child. He will rise and imperil his life, if necessary, to save that child. All the chivalry in humanity rises to the protection of that girl. Now, a feeble-minded girl of fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years of age is in mind the equivalent of the girl of nine; she is innocent; she is confiding; she is sweet-tempered; she is affectionate and willing. Now, if anybody goes to that girl and says she is the most beautiful girl in town, she believes it. A man goes to that girl and says, I am going to get you a place where you can get \$10 a week and she goes with perfect confidence. That poor girl ought to stand in the same relation as her little sister. Her need is greater on account of her growth toward womanhood. Now, what happens to this girl who ought to be the special ward of the community that ought to extend guardianship over that helpless girl? What happens? She is hunted like a rabbit; she is pursued by every evil-minded man in the community and when that girl is hunted down and destroyed, then what do we do. The community rises in its wrath and hales her to the juvenile court and it is shown she is an evil-minded girl; she has given herself up to wrong doing; that she is a very bad girl. It may be she is put on probation, but in all probability she is sent to the reformatory. What happens? She is put into that institution to be taught, to be reformed, to be saved, and so she is taught, instructed, and prayed over, exhorted and locked up in a dark room and put on bread and water and disciplined and trained and developed. Bye and bye you come to the point where you think it is safe for her to go out. We send her back to the same environment and then she is a repeater; she has demonstrated her incorrigibility and we send her back to the reform school and there she comes back as one of the worst sort. You absolutely cannot hold her after she is eighteen years old. Then what happens? She goes onto the streets and she is brought into court and sent to the House of Correction for ten days and then in the course of a month she is arrested again and sent to the House of Correction for thirty days. She is regarded with scoffing and especially by her sisters, because she has prostituted herself. That is the way we destroy the most helpless girl in our community. There isn't anything more savage, inhuman, than that condition. We must recognize that child as the ward of the great State. One of the best women I know expressed the opinion some time ago that it was very wrong to make a poor girl stay in prison for life. The man who wanted to marry a feeble-minded girl should first be sterilized. That is in cold print. I believe sterilization ought to be done, but I don't believe that is what is going to save the world. In how many states are the laws being executed? California, and Connecticut have performed a few operations. What we must do is to throw the fostering care of the great mother state around the feeble-minded girl; we must take care of her, not because she is the inmate of the community, but in the spirit of the fostering mother toward a child that is sweet, affectionate, confiding, often capable of exercise of the genuine spirit of religion and we must go in the spirit of love to receive those children, to care for them and protect them and foster them and in this way we shall protect the community.

We have before us the subject of the delinquent, defective girl.

JUDGE BLACK OF COLUMBUS, OHIO: There is just one thing that has impressed me for a long time in reference to the delinquent girl. While I don't think Dr. Hart intentionally intended to take the stand and

yet his talk brought that feature of it to my mind so distinctly that I cannot help but mention it. I want to correct Dr. Hart on one proposition and that is that the girl is brought into court. That is true in some places, but I want to say in some places the man is brought into the juvenile court. I want to say further that while you are putting the protecting arm of the State around the girl, you will have to put the other arm of the state around the man in punishing him. The fundamental error, in my judgement, is that the man goes free and the girl is punished. It is a double standard of morality and you will not correct the evil until you correct the double standard of morality. Sterilization, personally I have no faith in. That is to say, the sterilized individual is not immune from venereal trouble, the greatest evil of modern society. In fact, he becomes a distributing agent and that won't work. I believe in protecting the girl and particularly the feebleminded girl, but my own judgement is that one of the ways to do it and do it effectively and efficiently is to teach men that they mustn't touch the feebleminded girl, and until you do you will never be able to protect her.

A VOICE: I would like to ask where the man is punished, in what State?

JUDGE BLACK: In Ohio you can reach him.

A VOICE: You try to reach him?

JUDGE BLACK: Yes, we do, vigorously and they say efficiently.

DR. HICKSON OF VINELAND, N. J: In psychopathology we are naturally very much interested in the sex question. Unfortunately, psychologists have neglected the sex psychology almost entirely and it became necessary for the psychopathologists to take up the question of sex. Dr. Freud has gone into the psycho analysis and we all do not agree with him. We have, however, discovered a great deal of insight into this sex question. We realize only too well the instinct, the unusually strong instinct of the boys and girls,—the girls are almost as bad as the boys; they are highly sexed; the sexual instinct is unusually developed, and, as we know, their inhibition is also undeveloped. That is the first thing we find. Now, these girls are almost as bad as the boys and I think before we get very far with this question we should learn more about the psychology of sex. We are accumulating data and eventually we will be able to talk intelligently and treat this question intelligently. I might say too that Miss Hill told me about her girls that were so very highly sexed and very hard to control, and in many cases they might be just as difficult as the men. These cases that Miss Hill speaks of, this 20 per cent. that do not meet the Binet test, you will find they are psychopaths; they are undoubtedly insane cases. They are of epileptoid constitution; they are the moral imbeciles. Now, when your Binet tests do not reach them you will find ninety-nine times out of a hundred you are dealing with psychopaths. These cases should be segregated. There is nothing as ramifying as insanity. You only have to go through our institutions and you will notice that these cases look entirely different from a normal child; they are simply covered with stigmata of degeneration; we can almost make a diagnosis of these cases on a physical stigmata. These cases, I believe, should be segregated because, as I say, insanity is one of the most ramifying diseases and does untold damage.

DR. ORLANDO F. LEWIS OF NEW YORK CITY: As I have been sitting here listening to the real clamor that we are expressing for some better knowledge of tests, it has occurred to me that we might get a practical result this afternoon in one of two ways, either that this Association would ask the psychologists and psychiatrists, men like Dr. Goddard and Dr. Fernald, Dr. Healy and others, to get together as a special

committee of this Association and standardize their own tests; see if they cannot get upon some common ground, and that they ought to do that as the result of the desire which is in the heart of every institution superintendent and every secretary of charitable organizations to get something tangible. I know that during the last year there was an effort made to get these gentlemen together, but the distances between their places of work was so great that they have not come together yet. We can go on year after year asking as we have this afternoon, what are we going to do. We can run the risk of having a lot of our tests react like boomerangs upon our institutions. I foresee in the not distant future a good deal of embarrassment to some of our institutions because of the present statements which they are making regarding the percentages of feeble-mindedness. If Dr. Goddard doesn't agree with Dr. Healy and Dr. Healy doesn't agree with Dr. Fernald, and Dr. Fernald doesn't agree with Dr. Hughey, how do you know how many feeble-minded persons you have got in your institutions? How do we dare to say that we have 25 per cent. or 40 per cent. or 50 per cent. when if we analyze our own statements we find by the Binet and other supplementary tests that they are not sufficient. Isn't it a dangerous situation we are in? It seems to me from the standpoint of one who is interested in publicity that we are dealing with a very dangerous subject and it seems to me also that the psychological and psychiatric moment has come and the pathological and physiological moment has come when we ought to say to Healy, Hughey, and Goddard, and every one, it is time for you fellows to get together and standardize your tests, and if you cannot standardize them, there is something wrong not with us, but with you. Now, I should be glad to have the Prison Association of New York invite those gentlemen and other students to come together in a conference in New York this fall or winter and if we can get something tangible; and if we cannot I would prefer that this Association or the National Probation Association would do so. The gentlemen whom I have mentioned are so busy themselves that they probably won't do it unless spurred on.

One other thing. Why isn't it time to try to begin to get school records, to get records even prior to the beginning of school? We have been trying to get the Department of Education in New York City not with the ordinary statistics, but interested in statistics which are the result of co-operation and consideration on the part not only of the educational authorities, but of the medical authorities. It seems to me we have got to go back to the great grand-father and the great grand-mother.

DR. HART: We are still on the subject of the feeble-minded girl.

JUDGE ADDAMS: I see Mrs. Caroline Alexander, who is the president of the New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians. Perhaps she might have something to say.

MRS. CAROLINE ALEXANDER: HOBOKEN, N. J. I suppose the reason I was asked to say a few words is that I am interested in dealing with delinquent girls. We have just founded a reformatory for women and we have got one of Mrs. Falconer's former assistants in charge and I think although we have very few girls we are up against the same proposition. We have 25 girls and we have had about 20 for the last two or three months. We have had five escapes within the last month and of those girls all but one is feeble-minded. That one is a case of congenital prostitute. The others are clearly feeble-minded, one of them having run away already five times from the home. We receive our women from the courts and also we have the girls who have proved failures in the State Home, the girls they have been unable to manage there and those that they have placed out in situations on parole and have done badly;

those are the girls we take. We must all realize that the reformatory institutions, particularly for girls, is really a swindle on the taxpayers; we are asking and expecting too much money from them for the results of the older institutions, as I understand them, and our institution will be able to produce. I was on the Board of Managers of the State Home for Girls in New Jersey and I think we have made a mistake also in our treatment of the feeble-minded and the mentally deficient; we spend entirely too much money upon them. I was chairman of the school department. I was full of enthusiasm of providing all sorts of educational benefits for the delinquents, and the last year I was there I began to regret very much this enormous expenditure of the State's money because it is beginning to react on the State institutions. I think we have made the mistake of spending too much money on our mentally deficient and we are starting a cry from four different quarters, from the State prison, from Professor Johnson's home and from the quarters interested in the insane that the provision for the future should not be in expensive institutions, but should rather be in the nature of camps, taking the unimproved land that many of you have seen in going to Lakewood and Atlantic City and planning there colonies for the mentally deficient and have the colonies for the insane, and that is what we are going to reach towards. If we are going to properly equip these girls, that is going to cost money and it is going to take money and good teachers, and it is going to take land, equipment and a good deal of expense. I hope the few girls who can receive a highly specialized training will receive it even though the per capita rate is high, but the others, the Morons and the anti-social, should be cared for very much more economically by putting them in institutions where the housing is cheap, and where we do not need a trained physicians, and the per capita cost can be reduced; otherwise, I think we are in danger of putting on the taxpayer more than he can carry and after a while I think there will be a reaction and we will have to stop then and there. Spend the money on the improvable type and on those that can return to the community. I think this is what our new institution is doing. I think with perhaps more than half of our 25 girl they will really be a good investment for New Jersey.

DR. HART: Before we leave the subject of the defective delinquent, I want to call attention to why we should put emphasis on the feeble-minded girl any more than the feeble-minded boy. I asked Dr. Goddard's opinion as to the relative danger of the feeble-minded girl and the feeble-minded boy. He replied that in his judgement the girl was three times as great a peril to the community as the feeble-minded boy. I want to repeat that. That the feeble minded girl was three times as great a peril to the community as the feeble-minded boy. Why? Because the feeble-minded girl is very much more likely to multiply her kind than the boy. The boy is not an object of pursuit by normal women. No woman of ordinary intelligence will consort with a feeble-minded man, but normal men will consort with feeble-minded girls. We are learning through the studies of New Jersey institutions and other States that the feeble-minded woman is at least twice as prolific as the normal woman. It is because of her lack of power and because she is an object of pursuit. Therefore if we shall stem the tide of feeble-minded delinquents we shall look after the feeble-minded girl.

Now, then, comes boys. What was suggested here a few minutes ago the extraordinary expense and the means by which that can be done away with. How can we care for the feeble-minded child and do justice to him and at the same time cut in two the standards of expense established in many states? Can Mr. Johnson speak on this subject?

MR. ALEXANDER JOHNSON OF VINELAND, N. J: I was trying to save thunder for tomorrow afternoon. I have some pictures which will show the sort of work that is being done and can be done with feeble-minded girls, and especially with feeble minded boys, in reducing the per capita cost prevailing almost everywhere,

When I first went into the the work of caring for the feeble-minded, we had a period of extravagance in the State of Indiana and I had the misfortune of being a Democrat (and am still one). The Governor said to me, "Now, Mr. Johnson, don't you believe there has been a vast amount of waste up there and don't you believe you can get down to a basis of commonsense?" I said, "That is my highest ambition at present." And my highest ambition, after keeping the girls and boys happy and keeping them innocent, was to make it possible, to find enough property to pay for the tax of taking care of them all. The way I saw was to make them work for themselves; make them earn their own living, so at the end of four or five years we didn't have any employee of the laboring class; they were all foremen, no laborer employed, but all that kind of work is done by the inmates themselves. To do it, we need several things. We have land enough; because these people can and ought to be taught to raise their own food supply on the land they occupy and even if it costs a few cents more to raise a bushel of potatoes that way than it costs a farmer, when you realize the profits of the middleman, you see those things are cheaper than when you have to buy them, so if we don't get quite as good results in those ways, it may be cheaper in the long run. That was the first thing, to get them to do their own work as far as possible. I don't know of anything more important than that in the whole story, to organize this labor, this feeble-minded, defective labor, on a basis which shall make it productive, to take the two greatest combinations you can conceive of, to take waste land and waste humanity and get them together and make them into the Garden of the Lord, into happy, innocent and useful people. That was the thing that attracted me most. I came out of the institution ten years ago, but have had a relapse. I believe we shall never take proper care of our defectives until we can segregate not just a few as at present, but practically the whole class, Now, don't ask us for a test which can be applied in a room adjacent to the probate court in a few minutes or few hours which shall infallibly say whether this or that girl is or is not a Moron. Don't ask for an impossible thing. No such test has been devised and no such test will ever be devised. The Binet test is an extremely useful mechanism as far as it goes. It tests intellectual ability and power; it has no bearing upon the moral sense; it has no bearing upon physical matters, just one particular part of life. The test we used is the test we are using now. You go to the school for delinquents and you will find the experienced teachers will pick out a few pupils and they know that those have not got the power of self control nor the will or judgement sufficient to enable them to battle with the world. That is the best test, the long experience of the teacher. So I think it will be necessary to have a special institution for the defective delinquent as a branch of the reformatory or what not, or else to have it under the same Board of Managers and with some method which admits an easy transfer from one to another. Those difficult delinquents are just as much out of place in the ordinary school for the feeble-minded as they are in the ordinary reformatory. I had under my care quite a large number of boys sent to the reform school; they had been found to be more or less feeble-minded; they were capable in many ways, but they were the most troublesome class in the institution; they gave more trouble than ten times the number of ordinary feeble-minded that came directly.

With regard to this lifetime imprisonment. I shall show you tomorrow afternoon some pictures of these Morons. I have had it said to me that it is very cruel to say this girl shall be kept in prison for life. I don't want anybody to think it is a prison and that is why I think when that separate branch is created it won't do to say that that means a permanent detention. Let it be provisional. Let there always be the chance of their getting back; let there always be the possibility of restoration. We may make a mistake sometimes; we may make a mistake and find we shouldn't have made the transfer. Then you will not take away that element of hope that is always there. I have known two hundred or so boys and girls who for years and years have been going away from the institution but have always wanted to after some event, after something that was going to happen. Perhaps it was their next birthday party; perhaps it was a camping trip out in the woods; perhaps Christmas or Fourth of July; or some one of the holidays. Nobody wanted to go away until after that event had taken place so they stayed and stayed until many of them began to feel that was their permanent home. That is what has got to be done; we have got to make them feel at home; it has got to be a place of great joy and happiness. It doesn't need genius to do it; it needs a good heart and kind heart and it needs common sense carried to the tenth power.

DR. HART: How do you feel about the suggestion made by Mrs. Alexander as to an opportunity for a reasonable saving in the expense of these institutions by not attempting so much in the way of school education?

MR. JOHNSON: I remember one time getting a letter from a parent of a boy in my charge and he said he was very grateful to us for all our kindness to his little unfortunate boy, but he had far rather heard that Charley was doing something useful than acquiring a knowledge of the alphabet at the rate of a letter a month. It all has a direct tendency just as in the common school the purpose ought to be (I wish I dared say it always is) to fit the child for life in the outside world, so in the school for the imbecile or feeble-minded the purpose is to fit the child for his future life, and that is what we are trying to do. Of course, it is easy to spend money on those things that are not necessary. We are proud in America that the child can get the education he needs, so there ought to be all the schooling the children can take. We ought to raise them as near the stature of the man as possible.

MISS HODDER: When I saw Mr. Johnson at Vineland, he said to me that he found most institutions and boards were planning for themselves monuments when building institutions, and his plan was simple cottages. Would you tell us something about those small cottages?

MR. JOHNSON: I will show you some pictures tomorrow.

DR. HART: Mrs. Falconer has sounded the keynote which should be pursued, that we must provide adequate care for the whole of the feeble-minded. Then, what Mrs. Alexander has said is of great importance and that is this, that there was a radical standard made when we started on the care of the feeble-minded fifty years ago. The theory was that the feeble minded child was of retarded development and by employing teachers of special skill we were going to develop those latent faculties of the child and make him capable of taking his place in the community. It has been demonstrated that that is a failure. I don't know as I would say it is entirely useless, but I should go a great ways in that direction. We should take an entirely new departure. I would close the doors of the institutions for the feeble minded in the United States to all children except girls between the ages of 12 and forty-five until every such girl is

cared for. I wouldn't receive a single boy or little girl under twelve until we have taken care of all of the girls of childbearing age. Why should we take these who are the smallest menaces who can be cared for in other ways with a degree of comfort and at the same time allow these girls to grow up and multiply their kind by the hundreds of thousands as at the present time? I can remember within the time of my recollection that we have increased the care for insane women to the number of over 40,000. Now we have the best estimates for the number of feeble-minded in the country and they run from 200,000 to 300,000. Probably 60,000 of those are feeble-minded women; probably 15,000 are under care at the present time. Now, if we have provided for 45,000 additional insane during the last 45 years, I think we ought not to be satisfied with anything less than the segregation of every feeble-minded girl of child-bearing age for the protection of the community and the girls themselves.

DR. BUTTON OF ROCHESTER, N. Y. I feel that that point of protecting the public against these girls ought to be emphasized. Only two weeks or so ago I made an examination of a girl in the police station at Rochester who is an example of what some of these girls can and do do right along. This girl told me that she had had sexual intercourse with from thirty to thirty-five boys and she is only nineteen years old, and some of these boys have not yet reached the age of puberty and she had to send them to other boys to learn them what to do.

With regard to the other question, how can you tell a feeble-minded person. After all it isn't a matter of the Binet test alone; it is a matter of experience and judgment so far as I have been able to work it out. In a way I compare the thing to an engine. The question is whether your locomotive is running powerful and well on the wrong track, or is your engine running very poorly with weak power due to mental defect. If you have a person that shows a good mentality misdirected, that person cannot be called feeble-minded. The point is, is your engine a weak ineffectual engine, or is your child one who is perhaps insane or perhaps disturbed by some extrinsic cause; is the child running well on the wrong track? In a general way you have to use your judgment in determining whether or not a child is feeble-minded, insane or suffering from some physical defect to determine where this child or that child ought to be placed.

DR. HART: We have ten minutes for the topic of the defective delinquent boy. Is there anything that some of you wish to say on that particular subject?

MRS. ELIZABETH A. WHITNEY, SUPERINTENDENT, NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, WASHINGTON, D. C.: The defective delinquent girl and the defective delinquent boy is like a piece of damaged goods. That drama is being given in the city now and I would urge upon every person here, no matter what they sacrifice, not to fail to see that drama, the drama of "Damaged Goods" adapted from a French story. I had the privilege of seeing it when it was brought to the City of Washington by our Society of Social Hygiene. It is a great and powerful play and a great help in teaching sex hygiene. You will be very sorry if you don't have the help that you will get from seeing that drama.

DR. HART: Is there further discussion? If there is not, the President will make some announcements.

PRESIDENT ADDAMS: Is there any business?

MR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON, OF ALBANY: I would like to make a motion. The subject discussed this afternoon is one that, like the de-

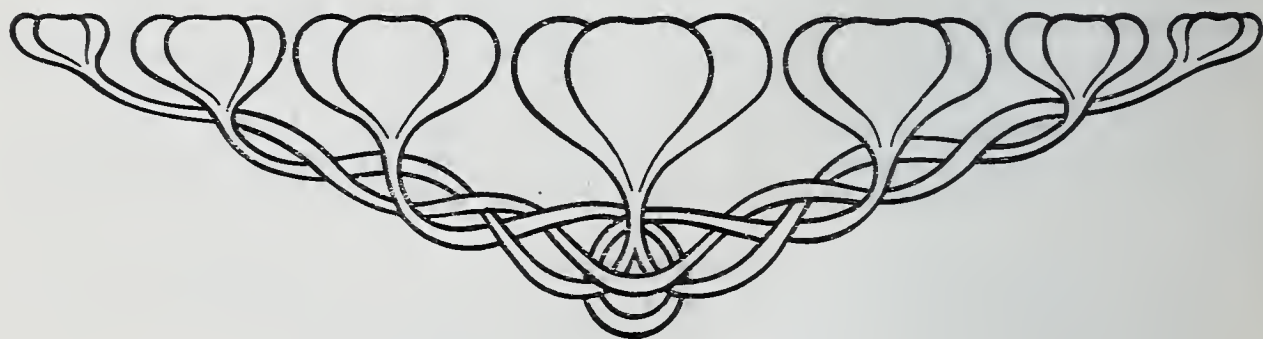
fective girls Dr. Hart spoke of is getting on our nerves. Wherever we go, we are up against this question of defectives. If we go to a meeting of the National Education Association or a convention of the National Prison Congress or any kind of a convention this question of mental defectiveness is discussed more or less, usually discussed more and usually discussed with less and less information. I think the suggestion Dr. Lewis made this afternoon is one that ought not to be passed by. Some of us have been trying mental and Binet tests and when we tell some psychologist we have tried the Binet test, he rather ridicules the Binet test. Then we tell another psychologist we have tried the Healy test, that is ridiculed. I therefore wish to make a motion that the chair appoint a committee, or if there be a committee on resolutions, that it be referred to that committee to request the men who have prepared tests for mental deficiency to arrange a conference for the reduction or elaboration of a standardized test which will meet the approval of scientific men, for first of all before we can decide a mental defect, we must have a scientific basis. Superficial observation is not sufficient. I therefore move you, sir, that a committee be appointed to arrange with test authorities for a conference at which tests may be standardized or a standard series of tests may be arranged.

THE PRESIDENT: I will put that motion if you insist. There are two associations present, the National Probation Association and the Conference on Children, and I will ask if you don't think it better to refer this matter to the executive committee of both bodies. I will refer it to the executive committee of the Conference on Children and it can be taken up with the National Probation association. Will that satisfy you?

MR. JOHNSON: It will.

DR. HART: You will find on the secretary's desk copies of a paper on the extinction of the defective delinquent which covers some of the ground of the discussion this afternoon. I wish to thank the members of the Conference who have participated in the discussions.

THE PRESIDENT: I want to call your attention to tonight's program. There will not be as many big words as used this afternoon and you won't have to have a dictionary, but it is a splendid program. You will see that the author of *Children in the Street Trades* is to read a paper on a subject with which he is very familiar and one that comes home to everybody present, and then one of the speakers of this afternoon is to have a talk on the Drift of Things. I never heard him say anything foolish; that is, from the platform. I want to call your attention again to the registration. All this wisdom is being put on paper here and it is to be handed out to you in book form. You are now adjourned until eight o'clock this evening.



Third Session

Tuesday Evening August 26.

PRESIDING: Hon. George S. Addams.

THE PRESIDENT: The paper on The Relation of Street Work to Juvenile Delinquency will be ready by Mr. Clopper of the House of Refuge, Cincinnati.

MR. EDWARD N. CLOPPER, SUPERINTENDENT, CHILDREN'S HOUSE OF REFUGE, CINCINNATI, OHIO: Mr. President, Fellow Members of the Conference (I feel justified in addressing you as fellow members inasmuch as I have paid my dues) my subject concerns the relation of street work to juvenile delinquency and will deal largely with the investigation of our Federal Government into this subject.

Relation of Street Work to Juvenile Delinquency

Edward N. Clopper, Ph. D.

Superintendent, Cincinnati House of Refuge.

There is published in Cincinnati a certain weekly periodical whose principal feature is a full account of scandals, with special emphasis upon their salacious details. Quite recently one edition of this unpleasant magazine was suppressed by the local authorities because of a vulgar article it contained, and a few months ago a federal officer brought suit against its editor for having sent improper printed matter through the mails. It had been customary for a long time for newsboys both young and old to offer this periodical for sale over the city, shouting its name at the top of their voices and thrusting its sensational headlines and pictures into the faces of people in the street. We have in Cincinnati a meager bit of restriction upon street trading by boys between 10 and 14 years of age of whom there are about 2000 in the city, and as it was found that the newsboys discussed with evident relish the various scandals aired by this scurrile sheet, complaint was made to the city officials and Mayor Hunt at once acted upon the authority of our little street trading ordinance and issued an order prohibiting the sale of this publication by newsboys under 14 years of age under penalty of having their licenses revoked. The publisher sought an injunction

against the mayor to make his order ineffective but the court denied the application. The City Solicitor argued that the mayor was the conservator of public morals and peace in Cincinnati and as such it was proper for him to issue the order for the protection of the newsboys. In refusing to grant the injunction the court stated that the articles complained of in the publication were plainly improper and that young newsboys had read them and freely construed the vicious meaning they were intended to convey.

This was a conspicuous example of the evil influence to which street working children are exposed. Unfortunately these influence are seldom made conspicuous because instances of such public action are rare, and so the evil flourishes unnoticed and uncontrolled. Even the mayor's order in this case does but little to improve the situation because the older newsboys continue to handle this ugly journal, side by side with younger lads, and discussion of its nasty stories goes on apace.

In addition to the danger of physical deterioration because of exposure, irregularity of habits and fatigue, the chief objections to street work for children are its "blind-alley" character the distaste for regular employment it cultivates, the premature spirit of independance it fosters, the fondness for petty excitement it developes, the dislike for school discipline it engenders and the opportunities it offers to become delinquent. A writer in one of the bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor declares that street-trading children furnish a large proportion of recruits to the criminal population and are a source of waste to society rather than of profit.

The most convincing proof so far adduced to show that delinquency is a common result of street work is set forth in the volume on "Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment" being part of the federal government's Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States. The object of this inquiry was to discover whether there was any connection between the misbehavior of children and the occupations they followed. Due consideration was given to other factors such as the character of the child's family, its home and environment. The study was based upon the records of nearly 9000 offences committed by almost 5000 different children brought into the juvenile courts of seven of our large cities. The workers and non-workers among these cases were about evenly divided, yet about two-thirds of the offences had been committed by the workers.

With reference to the character of the offences it was found that the working children inclined to the more serious kinds. Recidivists were far more numerous among the workers than among those who had never been employed. The proportion of recidivism among street-workers who were also attending school, was found surprisingly large—over two-thirds of the entire number in this group having offended repeatedly, and the report attributes this condition to the character of street work, its “dubious or actively harmful associations and frequent temptations to dishonesty.” Only one-fifth of the workers as opposed to nearly one-third of the non-workers came from distinctly bad homes, while 11 per cent. more of the workers than the non-workers had fair and good homes. Consequently, the working child goes wrong more frequently than the child who is not employed, in spite of his more favorable home surroundings.

The strongest argument against street work by children, and the most striking illustration of its responsibility for a large proportion of juvenile delinquency is found in a table of this report which ranges in order the various classes of child workers of all kinds according to the percentage of delinquents they supply. The list is headed by *newsboys*, who constitute nearly one-fourth of the entire number; following these come the errand boys; then the delivery boys; then children in markets and stores; then messenger boys. All of these except the employees in stores, are street-workers. Next come two classes of regular inside workers, but these are immediately followed by bootblacks and peddlers. Fifty-four per cent. of all the children were engaged in street occupations. Thus it is clearly seen that street work is a prime agency for the supply of delinquent children and this becomes more impressive when we reflect that the forms of street work are few while the variety of inside employment is almost without end. The report denounces street work by children because it does not permit of supervision and brings boys and girls into continual temptation to dishonesty and other offences.

Of the delivery and errand boys, 79 per cent, were found to have fair or good homes, of the newsboys and bootblacks 76 per cent., of street vendors 65 per cent and of the telegraph messengers 79 per cent., so in this connection the report declares that “Certainly the predominance of these selected occupations among the employments of delinquents cannot be explained by the home conditions of the children entering them.” Messengers were found in every respect to

be above the average of favorable conditions, and in referring to their work the report charges that its irregularity and service at night tend to break down the health of the boys, that its opportunities for overcharge and for appropriating packages or parts of their contents lead to larceny and that the places to which the boys are sent familiarize them with all forms of vice and tend to lead them into immorality. "There is abundant reason for considering that the messenger service deserves its bad name."

In order to establish a connection between the offence and the occupation, the report held that misdemeanor must be committed during work hours, in some place where the child was called by his work, and against some person with whom the work brought him in contact. It was found that a very large number of misdemeanors committed by street working children fulfilled all these conditions. Larceny accounted for more than nine-tenths of the many connection cases among errand and delivery boys. This, together with the fact that the majority of these boys enjoyed good home influences, "seems to indicate that the occupation is distinctly a dangerous one morally."

The newsboys almost equal the errand boys in their percentage of connection cases, though their offences have much wider range; in fact, the connection cases for newsboys include a greater variety of offences than any other occupation studied. Street vendors were found to show the highest percentage of connection cases, larceny being the leading offence. The report concludes; "It is a striking fact that while the delinquent boys working at the time of their latest offence were scattered through more than fifty occupations, over six-sevenths of the connection cases are found among those working in street occupations, and that more than three-fifths come from two groups of workers—the errand or delivery boys, and the newsboys and bootblacks. It is also significant that the connection cases form so large a percentage of the total cases among the street traders, the messenger and the errand or delivery boys, their proportion ranging from over one-fourth to over one-half, according to the occupation."

This carefully prepared report of our government constitutes a grave indictment of a common practice. The relation of street work to juvenile delinquency is clear and we should spare no effort to secure at least the same protection for the newsboy, the bootblack and the peddler as the workers in factory, mill and mine now enjoy. We have provided

splendid facilities for the correction of our delinquent children through the medium of juvenile courts, reformatories and the probation system, but surely it would be wise to provide at the same time an ounce of prevention in addition to this pound of cure.

The late Professor Ward, in his "Pure Sociology," states that the very proximity of social phenomena is a bar to their full comprehension and calls this "the illusion of the near." It is a truism that for objects close at hand our vision is blurred the focus lies beyond. The average citizen knows more about the national than the local government; many churches direct a great amount of energy toward the alleviation of suffering abroad, ignoring the misery at home, and most of us discern the mote more clearly than the beam. All effort, whether individual or collective, for the improvement of social conditions attempts in its initial stages to reach a solution in a single leap, disregarding the more logical and effective method of accomplishing progress by degrees on a comprehensive scale. So it has been with the movement of child labor reform. At first the plight of the child in the mine and the factory, unseen except by a few, aroused the entire civilized world to vigorous protest. Later, when the image of the evil in its broader aspects became more distinct upon the social retina, the child workers in our mercantile establishments where thousands daily throng, began to attract attention and finally were the objects of solicitude after many years of close contact with the public. But the street traders, that class of child laborers whose association with the great mass of people has been most intimate and constant, have been the last to meet with consideration. Street workers have always been far more conspicuous than any other child laborers and this has been their misfortune. If we had not committed the common error of overlooking the obvious, they would have been banished from our thoroughfares long ago. But our gaze has been fixed upon the distant mine and cotton mill and we have cast only a hurried glance at the urchins flitting about us on the streets, at work before our very eyes, and this glance has been directed not so much at the children themselves as at their paltry little stock in trade. We have permitted these little boys and girls to minister to our wants, looking upon the newsboy, the bootblack and the peddler as an essential feature of city life because they are more or less useful or picturesque. It is so convenient to have a newspaper or a shoe-brush thrust at one, it has not occurred to us that, for the sake of children, such work would better be

done by other means. Now that we are getting a broader sense of social responsibility, we are beginning to realize how blind and inconsiderate we have been in our treatment of them.

The free rein at present given to child labor in our city streets is productive of distinctly harmful results and a determined stand should be taken for the rights of children so exposed. There is no valid excuse for the present system of auto-exploitation of children. Just as efficient service could be rendered by adults. Certainly it would be far more suitable and humane to reserve such work for old men and women who need out-door life and are unable to earn their living in other ways. We could buy our newspaper from a crippled adult presiding over a stand, just as easily as we get it now from a lad who is jostled about on the street corner. A little thought about the situation would cause us to realize the facts as they are—that the work of newspaper selling lacks the oversight and discipline of adults, it exposes children to the varied physical dangers ever lurking in the streets, the early and late hours cause fatigue, the irregularity of meals and use of stimulants tend to weaken the constitution, the opportunities for bad companionship are frequent, the field offers no chance for promotion and the work leads nowhere. We may rest assured, furthermore, that the presence of the newsboy in our city streets cannot be justified on the ground of poverty, for investigation has revealed that only about twenty per cent. of such activity is due to economic need.

The peddling of chewing gum, shoe strings and other cheap articles is a form of street occupation in which children quite commonly engage and which subjects them to the same objectionable influences as newspaper selling. This peddling is, in reality only begging in disguise. Children soon learn to practice deception, hiding all their packets except one and offering this in plaintive tones, as the last on hand to play upon the sympathy of passers-by. The use of young children as alleged guides by adult beggars is for the same purpose. It is a study in psychology and the child is the sufferer. The probability of larger pecuniary reward lures many of these children into those city districts where vicious characters congregate, for the street traders discover early, in his career that the profligate gives tips far more liberally than the respectable citizen. Agents of the Chicago Vice Commission repeatedly found little boys and girls, even of the tender age of eight years, selling gum late at night in front of bar-rooms in the segregated regions of that city. Into the

rear rooms of public houses young children often wander offering their wares and joining in obscene conversation with the patrons of these resorts.

Deterioration in one form or another is invariably noted in children who have followed street trading for any length of time and this should be sufficient proof of the undesirability of such employment for any boy or girl. Insidious influences surround the street worker in all large cities. This is denied by those who declare that certain prominent men were once newsboys or bootblacks and jump to the conclusion that their success was due to the training received in this way during childhood. The truth is more likely to be that such individuals have succeeded not because of this early training, but in spite of it. Boys of exceptionally strong character will force themselves out of such an environment unharmed, but the great majority of children are unable to escape. The stronger minority can take care of itself—it is the weaker majority that we must protect. The charge that in street work a child cannot acquire a trade is one of the worst counts in the indictment. It leads to nothing else; its various forms of occupation are so many industrial pitfalls, and children who get into them must sooner or later struggle out and enter legitimate employment in order to succeed.

Unfortunately, the old economic distinction between wages and profits has invaded the field of child labor with the result that the factory child and the street-trading child have been legally put into separate categories. The contention that the newsboy and peddler are "merchants" has drawn about these diminutive business folk the magic circle of a legal quibble, and hence in the pursuit of their calling they have been spared the embarrassment of protection. The fallacy of permitting such a distinction where the welfare of children is at stake, should be abandoned in favor of a more enlightened policy. In the matter of child labor regulation the state should not confine its efforts to the prevention of certain kinds of exploitation, permitting other and equally injurious kinds to flourish unheeded, for vision is the better part of reform.

DISCUSSION

THE PRESIDENT: The discussion of this paper will be led by Mr. Brown, the Superintendent of the Bureau of Welfare of School Children of New York City.

MR. EDWARD F. BROWN, New York City: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: No one speaks with greater authority on the topic of the evening than Dr. Clopper of Cincinnati. His reference to Dr. Ward's "Illusion of the Near" reminds me of the story of the little mother of the tenements who having found herself on the gloriously green grass of the country exclaimed to another little girl, "Say, Mame, what is this we are standing on?" To which her friend replied, "Why, its grass, you fool, can't you see?", To which she rejoined, "Naw, this ain't grass, can't you see there is no 'keep off' sign on it?" And so it is with one of the phases of street work about which Dr. Clopper has spoken; namely, the messenger service. Simply because there is no flag designating its danger, we are prone to look upon it with the same complacency that we look upon all industry, that it is *prima facie* good unless we can prove something to the contrary.

The National Child Labor Committee has made a number of experiments in that field. It has conducted investigations in a number of cities of some thirty-two states and uniformly it has been found that the dual nature of the American city usually transforms what by day is the respectable business section into the rendezvous of those who live a career of crime. The young night messenger has frequently been found to be the go-between for men and women seeking illicit relations. He has been found to be the carrier of notes to boarding houses, the messenger of the gambler and frequently the middle man in the sale of opium and cocaine and in one case, knock-out drops, and more frequently the purchaser of liquors during forbidden hours and days. What may we expect of the young boy who, in the most impressionable period of his life is ruthlessly thrust in the midst of this lurid array to which he can give nothing and which usually undermines him morally and physically? The young boy's contact with the woman of the underworld almost always results in undermining his moral character. The irregular hours, the diurnal sleep and nocturnal work usually reflects itself in the physical deterioration of the child and after a year or two or three or five years of service in the night messenger work the boy is a complete wreck. He learns nothing; he is taught no trade. In only one city of some two hundred I have visited studying this problem, have I found any systematic effort to teach the boy a trade and that city is Pittsburg, and I tried an interesting experiment in Pittsburg to find out how far the efforts of the company to teach the boys telegraphy was successful, so I took some thirty night messengers one by one in the presence of the manager and asked each boy to write from memory all the houses of ill repute he had been called to, all the houses he could remember. Curiously enough the younger lads, those who had been in the service a month or a year, boys fourteen or fifteen years old, were able to write a larger list of addresses than those having been in the service three or four years. The manager told me previous to my experiment that the school was a failure because he couldn't get the boys to go there; they had no interest for the subject being taught. The fact that the boys who had been in the service the shorter period of time were able to write the longest list of houses of ill repute shows that the younger boy is more apt, he remembers better, his aptitude is commercialized by the telegraph company because his enthusiasm for the work, this great white light, is leading him away from what might be the influence of a career, and tending to drag him in the worst places. Now, the most menacing thing about this whole business of the night messenger service is that the remedy is so simple and practical and that so many states, so many communities, have refused to recognize the fact and apply the remedy. In the State of New York in 1910, when Dr. Clopper and Mr. Lovejoy and

myself were first making these pioneer experiments in the night messenger service, the results of the investigations were so horrible that when we presented the material to the Legislature no questions were asked. We had our facts verified and the Legislature immediately passed a law prohibiting anyone from employing a person under 21 years of age in the night messenger service after ten o'clock at night or before five o'clock in the morning. The law went into effect a few months after its passage and since then instead of having fourteen, fifteen or sixteen year old boys catering to the crowded districts of the larger cities of the state, we now have men of discretion, men over whom the State legally holds no further control, and in the City of New York, apparently the substitution of older men in the service has been so successful that a large number of boys in the day service have also been substituted by men. Now, these are new problems. The street trades, the dangers of street trades or street work, have never been recognized up to a few years ago and it means that we must more and more make intensive studies into the special forms of industry into which boys go of their own accord without the responsibility of being employed by some other person.

One little story and then I shall close. A teacher once asked Johnny who was the eighth president of the United States, to which Johnny replied, "I don't know." Well, said the teacher, I am ashamed of you. When I was your age I could recite the names of the presidents backwards and forwards. The teacher herself was beyond the age when women want to admit how old they are, and Johnny's rejoinder was very smart. He said, "There were not so many presidents then." So it is with these new phases of social work. There were not near so many problems then, but they are here now and where the remedy is so certain of practical application, it ought to be placed upon the statute books and thoroughly enforced. At the present time, the States of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Utah, Rhode Island, and a few others perhaps (I am not very familiar with them now) have passed laws with the 21 year age limit. Other states, I think six in number, have passed the 18 year age limit, and I commend to those delegates who are from the South that they seek the passage and enforcement of a similar law. In Florida this last winter I saw boys of nine and ten and eleven engaged in the night messenger service. What reformatory can hope to correct the life of the boy who is so early saturated with the worst phases of our vices? To him all this is our regular order of things; he can see no wrong in sexual perversion or its kindred vices; he grows up with it. It is, as it were his second nature, and he is the delinquent for whom the community spends enormous sums of money to maintain institutions. He is not only the delinquent, but he is the potential criminal of our community. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: The subject is now open for further discussion and since there are not so many here to-night, those who speak can occupy the space immediately in front of the platform.

MRS. WEST OF TENNESSEE: We have that law in Tennessee and it provides that no boy under, I think it is eighteen, can be engaged in the night messenger service, and in Memphis we have a law that no probationer of the juvenile court can engage in the messenger service, either day or night.

THE PRESIDENT: I really wondered why we were going to Memphis next year but I am finding out.

MR. HUNTER, PROBATION OFFICER, CHICAGO, ILL: Mr. Chairman: When any social disease is discovered, it seems to me there are three things that must be done, and the first is a thorough going in-

vesigation to find out exactly what the facts are and when this investigation is made, then it is obvious that two lines of work need to be followed. The first is repressive and the second and just as important is constructive: that is, certain things will need to be done to take the place of the evil influences. Some good things will need to be put in their place. It seems to me that Mr. Clopper has made a very good analysis of the situation in regard to street trades and he has stated some of the things that need to be done along the repressive line, but I am sorry that nothing has been stated in the way of constructive effort. I want to mention one thing which I think must be done before the street trade situation can be satisfactorily handled. That is the matter of employment agencies for children. There may be some satisfactory employment agency for boys of the juvenile court age, but I have not heard of it. In Cook County of Illinois we have a Department of Education recently established called the vocational guidance department and there is a branch of the Chicago Association of Commerce which is working along this same line, but until those are greatly extended we will not be able to do what we ought to for these boys, unless we can satisfactorily guide them into some better kind of employment. We have a very good city ordinance which says that no boy under fourteen can be employed between eight at night and five in the morning and the parents are made definitely responsible if a boy or girl is found working and that parent is liable to a hundred dollars fine if that girl is found working again. That is all repressive. Several policeman have been assigned to enforce that ordinance. But 20 per cent. of these children must work. They need to be found other employment. How many of come from places where there is a satisfactory employment agency for the the boys and girls working on the street? Are we doing all we ought to unless we we build up where we tear down?

A VOICE: Is there any satisfactory work into which these juvenile workers can be put?

MR. HUNTER: I think there are a great many different kinds of work. I might state along that line that we placed between five and six hundred boys each year, but a good proportion of these boys don't want to work and will run away from the work. We find if a probation officer asks an employer to take this boy who has a court record the employer don't want to take him. We send the boys out by themselves and the employers take those boys without knowing their records. The problem of juvenile delinquency, so far as the probation of delinquent boys is concerned, will never be satisfactorily dealt with until we can get the cooperation of employers who can take the boys and deal with them in a sympathetic and understanding way.

THE PRESIDENT: One of our newspapers runs an ad for us to the effect that any boy who desires work can obtain it by applying at the juvenile court and hundreds of boys go there to get work and we have given more employment to boys than any employment agency in Cleveland and we never have any difficulty in getting the boys a job.

MR. HUNTER: Do the employers know the records of these boys?

THE PRESIDENT: They do.

MR. HUNTER: Don't you think it isn't as satisfactory a way as to send the boys out to get work by themselves?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see any objection to it. Sometimes when we tell the employer of the boy's record they take more interest in the lad than they would otherwise. The Y. M. C. A. runs an employment agency and often when a little lad applies to them they send him to us and we sometimes send the older boys to the Y. M. C. A., but we have never had any difficulty that way. Sometimes where they require a bond,

as in the case of an Express Company, it makes difficulty. The bonding company asks whether they have ever been arrested and so on, but it is only in cases like that we have any difficulty.

A VOICE: Has the vocational guidance department helped the boys in any way.

MR. CLOPPER: That is largely conducted with the cooperation of the Board of Education in Cincinnati by Mrs. Wooley, and there under the terms of the Ohio law, children are helped to get positions. Our Ohio law says that all records of the office issuing work certificates to the children must be open to employers desiring help so they may go there and telephone to the office inquiring about boys and girls that they may get and in that way the office serves as an employment agency. The bureau serves as an employment agency for the girls and the Y. M. C. A. serves as one for the boys.

A VOICE: You follow the record of the boy from the time he leaves school?

MR. CLOPPER: Yes, that is a private study. That isn't compulsory; it is merely a private study we are conducting. When a child quits a job he must go back and have his certificate re-issued to him before he takes another position. When a child leaves the establishment of his employer, the employer is required by law to send the certificate back to the office, not turn it over to the child, but to the office where the certificate was issued and then the child must come back there and have the certificate re-issued, so in that way the office is enabled to keep track of the children who are under the age limit. Those children have their names on the list there and that list is consulted by any employer wanting help.

THE PRESIDENT: That is a work of great social significance. In Ohio the superintendent of schools designates a person to issue work certificates and this gives a great opportunity for finding out why children are stopping school, the work that they are engaged in, and when they have to come back to have their certificates renewed that enables the authorities to find out all about their jobs and so on. In Cincinnati the superintendent of schools designated the agent of the Smithknapp Fund. We have the same opportunity everywhere in Ohio to do the same work as is done in Cincinnati, but there a person is on the job and they are finding out a great deal about the children's work and why they change their places and so on. Any further discussion? If there is no further discussion, we will turn Dr. Lewis loose on the Drift of Things.

DR. ORLANDO F. LEWIS OF NEW YORK CITY: The title, "The Drift of Things" is a good deal like the subject the pastor chose whose congregation complained he wandered so much, so he took the text, "Heaven and Earth." I thought I might be rather late in the evening and in writing this little paper, I sort of imagined we were sitting around the fire somewhere and talking ourselves over a bit and not in a formal gathering. Queen Victoria said of Gladstone that he was an estimable gentleman, but when he spoke to her it sounded as though he were addressing a public gathering. I don't want to address you as though I were addressing a public gathering, but rather as though I were saying a few things which have occurred to me in the last four years I have been in the Prison Association.

The Drift of Things.

Dr. Orlando F. Lewis.

The Drift of Things is my subject. What I mean is rather the *Trend of Things*. I mean certain currents, certain deeds, certain developments in our treatment of delinquency in recent years. I cannot present a comprehensive paper in twenty minutes. But I have been for nearly four years connected with the New York Prison Association, and in that time I have come to feel certain things that I would like to mention briefly to-night.

First let me say that I am enthusiastic. You and I, who are dealing with the young or the not-old delinquent, have not only a wonderful field, but one of great significance to the nation. You have said that so often yourself, no doubt, that it sounds trite. But I say it because I want you to understand the spirit of my paper. I believe the present age and the present decade, the most significant, the most promising and the most interesting of any in the history of all our treatment of crime and criminals. I say the most promising, because I want to make it clear that in some of the criticisms of a few moments from now I am not fundamentally discouraged, but hopeful.

Let us now regard our present status from the standpoint of assets and liabilities. What are our *assets*, what our *liabilities*? And, finally, what may be our future?

Proposition Number One. Our present-day treatment of delinquency seems to me to be a remarkable combination, often confused, of enthusiasm, experiment, complacency, and persistency, tinged strongly with abundant humanity, and marked by certain weaknesses. Let us see what that long sentence means.

We are enthusiastic. Behold our constant string of conferences, the spirit of this week at Buffalo. The nations of the world come to us, for America believes emphatically in childhood's rights, in saving childhood to itself. We have at last a Federal Children's Bureau. The National Child Labor Committee, the Playground Association of America, and a hundred other organizations testify to our belief in the high importance of saving the child. And every thinking prison man will say that to save the child is the most important deed in modern penology.

We are experimenters. The pioneer spirit of this country is noticeable in our treatment of offenders. Some of our more conservative European colleagues say that we Ameri-

cans rush in where saner penologists fear to tread. We have been the parents of the children's courts; we founded the first reformatory for children, almost a century ago, in New York City; we established, forty years ago, the first reformatory for young men above the age of fifteen. The probation system is our creation; parole is our heritage from a previous generation; the cottage system; the George Junior Republic; and the Big Brother Movement are largely and wholly indigenous. Just as the railroads buy locomotives, and then in a few years scrap them in favor of still more gigantic machines, so we, especially in children's work, have scrapped our earlier methods, long before other nations. In short, we have been relatively fearless in experiments.

We have been, and still are, complacent. I have heard of Englishmen who carry their little portable bathtubs with them around the world, because "tubbing," in their opinion; is the only proper way to take a bath. We Americans have often amusing assurance that for the world our correctional methods, though experimental, are fundamentally correct. Somehow we have, some of us, gotten into the way of thinking that even our experiments are rather divinely guided, and that they must work out well, because they seem to be so good in our sight. Three thousand miles away from the great nations of the older world we have strong tendencies to become self-sufficient.

We are a persistent race in our treatment of the offender. Witness the enormous sums from public and private funds devoted to charitable and correctional work. And every year we ask for more money, to more adequately care for more unfortunates. With the State of New York spending about a sixth of its annual budget in the care of insane, Dr. Hastings H. Hart has the humble audacity to say there are just as many feeble-minded in that State that should be taken care of institutionally. And that is only one charitable item. How often have I heard from our friends abroad, "Oh, if we could but have some of the American millions." Our streets are still paved with gold, it seems to them.

Our work is tinged with abundant humanity. I mean by "abundant humanity" the remarkable, often amazing, development in the humane treatment of criminals and other offenders even since the beginning of the present century. I refer to the development of probation, parole, the honor system, the gradual abolition of the prison labor contract system, the outdoor employment of convicts, the establishment of farm colonies for tramps, vagrants and inebriates; the segre-

gation of the criminal insane; the more recent campaign for the segregation of the feeble-minded delinquent, and the growth of the societies for the aiding of released and discharged convicts. These movements, by the way, had most of them long justified themselves under various names and processes, in the treatment of children. It has remained for more recent years to utilize them for adults.

Abundant humanity is also perhaps a fitting word for the general social attitude of the American people today toward their unfortunates. Since the opening of the present century there has been an unparalleled growth of what we call the social conscience. Socialism, the natural progress of an intelligent people, the growth of publicity regarding conditions such as monopoly, graft and the rights of the down-trodden, and the growth of social work have all been factors in the general education of the public. Abundant humanity has been developed since the beginning of the present century by the hundreds of organizations local and national, that in point of age are hardly out of their baby dresses.

So our work is essentially young, now. And I have outlined some of our assets. We have the God-given spirit of enthusiasm, we have the pioneer's courage to experiment, we have the persistency of John Bull (shall we say,) and I must confess, some of his provincial complacency. And, perhaps more important than all, we can count upon a large sense of common humanity, which fills the press, and helps to empty the pocketbook.

Let us turn now to some of our liabilities. I think we have some. Let me repeat that I believe our assets far outweigh our liabilities, and for that reason I shall be all the more frank in speaking about them.

First I would say that in some respects *we have been called superficial*. That sounds rather harsh. We have been charged by other countries with doing not a few things remarkably well without knowing always what we are doing or what the results may be. This is rather readily understood by any institutional superintendent who staggers under the mountains of institutional detail. The more originality and effect the superintendent loads upon himself or herself, the less time there is to be sternly introspective. We have felt that sufficient unto the day has been the evil thereof. Furthermore, our American frame of thought, intuitive, optimistic, courageous, pioneering, has held long continued philosophizing and introspection somewhat at a discount. They say that where two Germans are gathered together there are

three opinions. It might perhaps be said that where two American social workers are gathered together, on most social subjects there will be but one opinion, and that is to get things done and "deliver the goods."

If I might expand this thought a moment, I would cite the instance of the gathering of the International Prison Congress, at Washington, in 1910. The foreign delegates, filled with enthusiasm as they were for many of our institutions and methods, found to their surprise that we often had little to say as to why we adopted the methods we had, or as to what the real statistical results of these methods were.

I said a little while ago that it might be charged against us that we are *rather self-sufficient*. There is a danger in being so far away from other nations that most of us learn from them only as we read of an instance here and there, and generally in translation. Sometimes I think the Dutch are to be envied, who occupy a bit of a land about the size of Rhode Island, and have to know four languages if they are really considered intelligent. They must at least come into pretty close contact with the best thought of our nations.

Now, in correctional problems we really have considerable to ponder over, if not adopt, in the developments outside our own nation. If I might cite but one important development in some of the principal countries of Europe, I would say that we may well study carefully the historic development of the Irish system of confinement and progression, the Scottish prison philosophy of Dr. Devon, the remarkable unification of the English prison system by the Prison Commission since 1876, the great central bureau of statistics and research in Belgium, the separate confinement system and the juvenile reformatory system of Holland, and in both Belgium and Holland the great tramp and beggar colonies. In Germany we ought to be well acquainted with the great systematizing work in the Prussian prisons by the late Dr. Krohne, the grand old man of Europe in the prison field. In Switzerland an open-air self-supporting state prison under Dr. Kellerhals is held up almost as a model, and far Hungary can teach us much by her juvenile reformatories, I am told. Even Russia may have things to teach us in Siberia as to outdoor employment of prisoners. And so I might box the European compass.

We must inevitably suffer from a certain insularity in correctional methods. Many a problem is still debatable in Europe that we cheerfully believe we have long solved. Yet can we absolutely justify by statistics the indeterminate sen-

tence, and parole? Can we thoroughly justify the inside cell-block system and labor in association, as compared with the outside cell, and the separate confinement of prisoners? If intelligent nations—all except ours—cling to methods that at first sight to us seem antiquated, is it enough that we say that we have discarded them? Why are *they* wrong?

And while we are upon this subject, let us humbly ask ourselves some searching questions. Who of us is satisfied with our county jails? What of the statements made at the recent International Prison Congress that our jail systems are incomprehensibly bad? Are we satisfied with our criminal courts, with the laws delay? Have we solved the problem of short sentences? What are we doing with our vagrants? Where can we send our inebriates, with a fair chance of being cured? Where are the feeble-minded delinquents, if not in institutions in which they do not belong? What State can furnish us with a comprehensive array of accurate parole statistics? What State has as yet developed its probation system upon a thoroughly satisfactory basis? What are the tests that can be generally applied to determine the feeble-minded delinquent? Where is there as yet a national body of criminologists? Where are our training schools for prison officials? To what extent does politics still play a part in the appointment of prison wardens and prison boards? How many prisoners aid associations are there as yet in the United States? What States still permit inadequate prisons to stand as a blot on the name of the State?

No, *we must guard against too great complacency*, against being puffed up in our own conceit. But it is not the habit of the American people to be provincial, and I feel that the present conditions are largely due to our distance from other nations rather than to any unwillingness to profit by what other nations may have to give us or to teach us. The natural inference is then that we should make the channels of communication between nations more facile, and in that connection the recent development of a scientific journal, the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, is a most gratifying fact.

We have another liability. *We are fearfully extravagant.* We are not by any means always making our funds tell. I am not speaking of the institutional heads and of the others that are here tonight, but of many of our policies of State or local divisions. What greater extravagance is there than the appointing to high executive positions of superintendents or wardens whose only claim to the position is that of political obligation or preferment?

Yet I might, paranthetically, ask whether our institutions are always run economically? Do we find that the sites for new institutions are always bought for the lowest reasonable price? Are our cottages always economical, or administration buildings, our superintendents' buildings? But I have particularly in mind the miserable extravagance of our county jail system. I think of hundreds of thousands of jails of idle men and women in our jails each year, and also our thousands of prisoners in the narrow airless cells of antique prisons, as at Sing Sing. I think our reformatories, which, originally planned for five hundred, have grown to fifteen hundred, where the individuality of the prisoner is largely lost. I think of the extravagance of parole systems, that with two or three officers expect to keep in reasonable touch with a thousand paroles. I think of highly expensive courts, and of judges with unstandardized decisions, and of the law's delay, that breeds an anti-social criminal during his term of confinement. I think of those counties in my own state where the grand jury meets but three or four times a year, and where the luckless prisoner held for trial gets neither exercise nor good reading nor anything more than perfunctory treatment. I think of the extavagance in the demoralization and deliberation of human lives, in correctional institutions where the tuberculous and syphilitic are lodged with the still healthy; where the young are forced into demoralizing contact with the old; where idleness is common and debauchery more than a rumor. So long as county jails exist in their present form and methods, this country has a woefully extravagant correctional system, for the vast majority of our offenders pass through the jail early. What special avail is it to have reformatories, if county jails are to be festering spots in our correctional system?

And so the examples of extravagance might heap up, an extravagance that some day, by the strength of such persons as are in this room tonight, may be reduced and obliterated.

So among our liabilities *we must count some failures*. But it is fair to say that out of the ashes of many of our failures rise phoenix-like further effort and ultimate success. I would say, then, that our liabilities have been and are principally the following; Superficiality, complacency or self-satisfaction, extravagance and some failures.

And now as to the future. In what direction are we heading, what successes are likely, and what may be some of the pitfalls ahead? If I may be allowed to be a bit prophetic, I would say that progress in children's work will be calm and

relatively systematic. It seems to me that the foundations are better laid for the treatment of the young delinquent than of the adult. Probation, parole, children's courts have justified themselves. The main effort of the children's institutions, it seems to me, should be still further to classify, segregate and study. The children's institutions will become our leading laboratories for the physical, psychical and pedagogical study of childhood. The next ten years will be devoted especially to the intensive study of the individual child. The results will to some extent probably change our methods,

There are certain dangers about this study. There is the danger that the institution may select a poorly prepared psychologist or psychiatrist. I am frank to say that I expect to see many a study published during the next decade that will prove ultimately something of a boomerang for the institution that publishes it. I see a tendency to take on faith as laboratory directors persons insufficiently trained, and to take their speedy findings as gospel. This is dangerous. Nothing can be more subtle than the intricate mental and physical life of our delinquents. Better *no* studies for public consumption until the institutions can afford to get the best. We must remember that even our leading psychologists and psychiatrists are still not wholly in accord as to tests. What may we expect of the disciples, often trained in a six week's course and then plunged into Binet tests and cognate tests?

I foresee also, in the case of institutions both for children and adults, a reaction in the not distant future in the direction of more or less rigid investigation by public authorities. It seems to me that the public has for a number of years been willing largely to accept the statements of social workers as to the necessity of this and that form of institution. It stands to reason, however, that ultimately, after the great surge of humanitarian enthusiasm of this new country has worn off, our whole charitable activity will come more closely under scrutiny than it has in the past. It therefore behooves us all to make ready, and to do so best it seems to me necessary to organize as promptly as possible and as thoroughly as possible the analysis of our field, first of our own special institution or organization, and secondly of our general field. In short, I wonder whether the time is not here for a more intensive expansion of our activities, a closer study of our methods, a more philosophical justification so to speak of our work whereby we may prepare ourselves against the day when we shall undoubtedly be called upon to justify comprehensively our field.

If my prognosis is right, it seems evident to me that such intensive study of the field must be by a far larger cooperation than has existed in the past. We must have the administrative details analysed to the foundations by the superintendents, the mental, moral and physical side by the doctors, the psychologists, and the psychiatrists, the legal sides by representatives of such organizations as the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, the penological sides by such organizations as prison associations, prison commissions and heads of charities. We need scientific concentration of interests upon our correctional problems. That we have already an abundance of interest, there is no doubt; that it must be much more coordinated is clear.

In our correctional system for adults I foresee remarkable changes already developing. The honor systems of the East and West; the speedy abolition of contract labor; the substitution of district workhouses for county jails; the demand that prisoners' families shall share in the profits of prisoners' work; the attention given to the defective delinquent all have infused hope into the prison problem. I foresee an increasing formidable battle; against the power of politics in prison matters; I see a rapidly increasing interest on the part of the public in correctional matters. The fact is—the gospel of hope has been infused into the adult prisoner problem, and the trumpets are blowing that shall cause the walls of the old prisons to fall, and the field of the farm prison to spread out in their places.

I see also a great need of publicity for our work. One might say that we have had abundant publicity. True, of the "news" type, for the movement has but recently caught public attention. But what we need is the persistent publicity that month after month and year after year causes the facts of social work to seep into the soil of public opinion. If we are disciples of the gospel of social justice, we must not be content to take advantage of the occasional chance to disseminate the gospel; we must be constant disseminators of the truth.

So I foresee far larger use of the annual report, the documents, the pamphlets, the leaflets, the magazine and the press. The most wonderful field of human interest lies about all of us engaged in social work. It needs cultivating. In every institution there are those who can do the cultivating.

I foresee training schools for social workers in our field, in cooperation with actual experience in the institutions. I

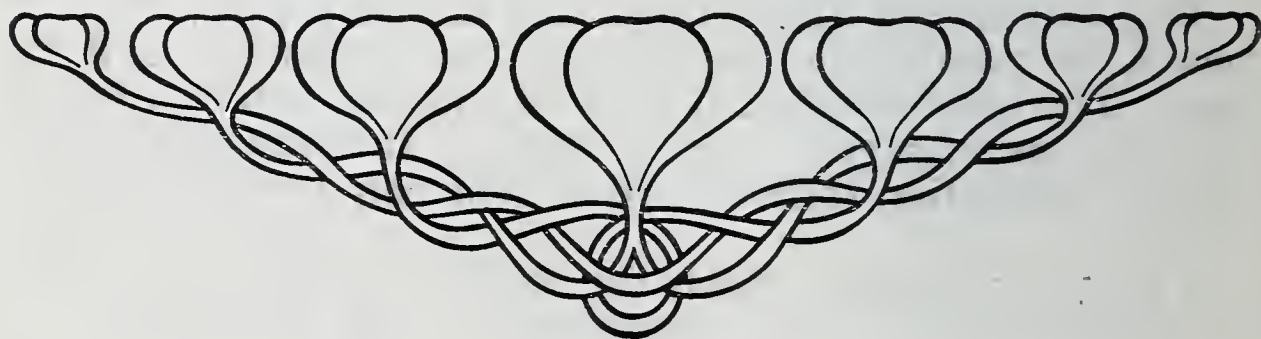
foresee radical changes in our criminal law and our criminal procedure, clarifying and hastening justice. I foresee the centralization of authority over our correctional institutions to the extent that in the future our delinquents, young or old, may be distributed to those institutions which will be of the most profit to them. I foresee the development of a civil service along sensible lines, that will insure efficiency without burdening the institution with safe but mediocre assistance.

And above all I foresee an ever increasing earnestness in our workers in the correctional field to match up to their own ideals; to serve their time on earth in the highest and most efficient form of service; to know not only their field, but their human charges; to make their country not only the leader in many a brilliant experiment, but the leader in the practice and theory of the treatment of the offender, in all divisions of a work that Professor Giddings of Columbia University has recently characterized as more important than the work for the prevention of poverty or for the dissemination of education.

THE PRESIDENT: I confess I have had almost a woman's curiosity about the Drift of Things. We were all in the position of the congregation of the colored minister who said he used to select a text before he went to the pulpit, but he found when he did that the Devil went around in the congregation and suggested objections, so he now goes into the pulpit without selecting a text and the Devil himself cannot tell what he will say. But Dr. Lewis is like another colored minister I heard about who was telling about the wonders of God's creation, how God made all things great and small; everything was a work of his hand. Said he, "The same God who created the starry firmament and the blue Ethereal Heavens created the butterfly and bee, and the God that created the forest made the grass of the field, and the God that made me, made a daisy." The Doctor is a daisy.

Since the work was so well done by Dr. Lewis and since we have already had a long day of it, I think this will be a good place to stop. Remember tomorrow morning we have an excellent program. Down in New York they are studying the school laggard and you all showed such an interest this morning in the Binet test that I am certain you will all want to see the demonstration tomorrow morning. Dr. Barrows will bring a number of children and give us a practical demonstration of the Binet test.

The meeting is adjourned.



Fourth Session.

Wednesday Morning, August 27.

PRESIDING: Hon. George S. Addams.

THE PRESIDENT: There is a little business to attend to, the appointment of the standing committees. One of the regular committees of this organization is a committee on time and place. The National Conference meets next year in Memphis in May and it has always been our custom to meet in advance of that conference. We didn't go with that Conference this year because it was held so far West, but I think on all but two occasions we have met with the National Conference. Now, unless there is some objection, I will not appoint that committee on time and place and we will simply assume that we will meet in advance of the National Conference.

DR. HART: I move you, sir, that the executive committee be instructed to arrange to meet in Memphis immediately preceeding the National conference.

COLONEL ADAMS: I second the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: Those in favor, signify by saying aye; those opposed the same. It is carried.

Now, I will appoint as the committee on nominations, Mr. Gardner, Mr. Penn, Colonel Adams, Mrs. Vignois, and Mrs. Amigh, and as the Committee on Resolutions, the two Johnsons, Alexander and Charles H., Dr. Wolfenstein, Miss Scully and Miss Calhoun.

The Committee on Nominations can meet after this session adjourns and report this afternoon unless there is some dissension among them.

Through a little misunderstanding, we didn't start on time this morning, but our following sessions must begin promptly on time. Tomorrow morning we have to vacate this room at 11:30 o'clock. It is a long and important program which we have for tomorrow.

Down in New York City, they have been studying the school laggard and most of the literature we have been getting on that subject has been coming from New York. The paper this morning on the School Laggard will be read by Miss Farrell, the inspector of ungraded classes of the Department of Education. New York City.

The School Laggard.

Miss Elizabeth E. Farrell.

Inspector of Ungraded Classes, Department of Education, New York City.

Ladies and Gentlemen: In what I shall say this morning about the school laggard, I will try to lay emphasis upon the child that is not upon the lower end of the scale, but rather whose saving is worth while to the community and whose salvation can be affected if we go to work at it in the right way. In this country we seem to have gone mad on the subject of mental defect. I am not going to touch it in any particular as it is usually recognized. The number of such children no one knows. The cure of them is little known also.

The problem of the School Laggard seems new when one considers the enthusiasm with which it is discussed or the mendacity of those who attack the school because there is a problem of the school laggard. That it is not new is known to all still young enough and able to recall their own days spent in the little red school house at the cross roads. The dunce has contributed his share to the gaiety of nations. The literature of our tongue gives abundant proof that he has been with us some time. It is a problem common alike to public and to private schools. The private schools, however, seldom confess this particular burden. Indeed we, who know of children withdrawn from public schools because the parent has been kept informed of the child's lack of application, of accomplishment, of his poor endowment, have been surprised to learn that after a year's attendance upon a private school the child has taken a prize in French. The solution depends upon understanding the factors in the case and their relation to each other. We must ask—what is the School Laggard? Who is he? Why does he exist? How is he to be found? How is he to be treated? What happens to him? What opportunity should we make for him?

Who is the School Laggard? A laggard is one who is slow, sluggish, backward; one who lags, a loiterer, an idler. The school laggard is the backward child, one therefore, who is over age for his grade. The normal age for the several grades can be fairly well stated. If a child enters the first grade of the elementary school when he is six years old and makes what is said to be normal progress, he will be seven years when he enters the second grade; eight the third grade, nine the fourth, etc., and will finish the eight year course in the elementary school during his thirteenth year. According

to this he is ready to enter High School when he is fourteen.

A child in the fourth grade when he is nine years old is of normal age, while a child eleven years old and in the fourth grade is over age for that grade and to that extent is a school laggard. If the progress through the elementary school can be considered a path through the academic grades, the normal child travels it in a more or less direct way in the years from his sixth to his fourteenth birthday, while the laggard, at one or more points in that path, stops for more work, more thought, more strength to discover the sign post which points to the shortest and most direct road to the open fields beyond. The period of time he stops indicates his degree of retardation, a child 12 years old and in the third grade is four years retarded four years in his school work.

In determining who is the laggard, the individual must be looked at from two points of view. The great Dr. Seguin said many years ago — Normality is characterized by grace, beauty, proportion, symmetry, balance in physical and in mental development. Lombroso that he found a criminal type characterized by want of balance, proportion and beauty. This suggests the two points of view I have in mind. His physical makeup must be understood. His mental equipment must be made plain. Those who know the little book — “The Making and the Unmaking of a Dullard” appreciate how a child who was apparently normal until he was seven, suddenly lost all appearance of normality. He grew rapidly until, within a few years, he was taller than the average man. His long legs and arms were more than he could control. His awkwardness and his lack of childish characteristics were more than any, but his mother, could endure. He was sent from the school which he had attended with his brother, and finally was cast in the refuse heap as a blighted child, a wrecked life. This condition continued for nearly ten years. During this time his brute strength was controlled sufficiently to allow the boy to be used in swinging great bags of grain into the wagon to be taken to the mill, for this child fortunately lived on a farm. All through these years he heard expressed for him the sorrow of his family, but some place in the mind which lived in the great awkward, overgrown body there was the spark that life still held hope that development was possible; that mind could control body. To make the story short—the boy described in that little book is now the professor of philosophy in one of our American Universities. The book is his autobiography, written for the benefit of not understood children.

On the other hand the school laggard often is the puny thin blooded undergrown child, the hungry eyed, highly strung boy or girl whose mental power is never sufficiently nourished, either because poverty or disease do not warrant the storing of vital energy to meet the demand of the school. To understand the school laggard we must understand his physical organism. (What about the mental point of view?) Sense defects?

What are the by-products of the school laggard? Incurable behaviour, truancy, loss of self-respect. Because he is a laggard he becomes the problem of discipline. Not being able to shine because of his school achievements, he decides to shine anyway. For awhile he is content as the bad boy. He breaks the rules, however few; he interferes with the rights of others; he gets his fair share of the teacher's time. This is not done consciously but the result is the same. The time soon comes to such a lad when all the disorder he can make in the school does not satisfy the demands of his own developing personality, so the street with its thousand attractions becomes the arena of his activity, and now we have truancy added to the other by-products of school retardation.

Why does the school laggard exist?

In trying to solve the problems presented by the laggard the school turns at once to the home as being the place most to be depended upon as a co-operating agency in its work. What is found? After investigation the school says—"The child does not make progress because of his home; his parents are indifferent as to the regularity and the punctuality of his attendance; his parents are poverty stricken, the child has not sufficient food, clothing, etc.; the mother goes out to work at five o'clock each morning, leaves the children in bed with the hope that they will awaken in time for school, for she won't be at liberty again until nine o'clock; or the mother works until ten or eleven at night, the children run the streets; are too worn out to get up and come to school; or this child is a victim of child labor, she makes artificial flowers, sews buttons on garments made in tenement homes, makes paper bags, or is engaged in any one of the dozens of gainful occupations permitted in the tenements; or this child is ill a great deal, the bad air, the poor food, the nerve racking noises in which she is obliged under the present economic system to live, do not permit her progress in school; and lastly the school says—This child is backward because his mental endowment is inadequate; he is feebly gifted, he is mentally deficient; he is feeble-minded. All of these things can the school find as reasons for its own failure as it is typified by the Laggard.

From those outside the schools, the social workers, the trades unions, the business man, the research students reasons of quite a different character are offered for the failure of the school as that failure is represented by the laggard. Boldly they assert—Your school is uninteresting. Nothing happens there. You take the child from the homes you describe with the freedom from convention which poverty implies, and you ask him to make an unquestioning surrender of his life of action, of doing; his life which fulfills to the utmost Rousseau dictum. The child to be educated needs things! things! things! You ask him to give up this and be satisfied with the alphabet.

I remember hearing when a young teacher of a kind man who lived in the central part of this State, about the middle of the last century. This man wanted to do something for the ragmuffins in New York and the thing he thought most worth while doing was to bring some into the country and send them to school. He himself was a minister and had a private school. His own zeal to benefit mankind led him to take this particular little gutter snipe into his home. The boy arrived in the country on Friday and there was no school on Saturday and on Sunday there was church, and the child's courage was kept up that on Monday school would open and he would have such a fine time. "You will learn the whole alphabet." The boy got very homesick and on Sunday he cried and wanted to go back. The gutter for him was better than the clergyman's house and infinitely better than any school life could be. They managed to keep him along until Monday morning and then they put him in school. The teacher put him in the kindergarten room and he played with toys that were there and it came nine o'clock and it was time to open school and with the reading of the scripture and the singing of the morning hymn, it was just too much for him and he burst out crying and the teacher told him what a lovely time he was going to have and he was going to learn his alphabet, but nothing could stop his tears. She finally pointed to the chart and said, "Why, John, this is A," and John looked at it and she repeated it again that was "A," and John said, "If that is A, I want to go home." That is exactly the thing that you people on the outside are saying to us, "If that is A, I don't wonder the children are playing hookey."

Now, how is he to be found?

From all that we hear about retarded children it appears that it is not a difficult thing to find them in the schools. He is to be found, at least, the marked type of laggard is to be

found, by the evidence which he gives of his existence. What is this evidence? In answering this question it is well to turn to another field of human effort in order to ascertain the type of material circumstance, or action which suggests to the master workman in that field that the utmost in production, perfection, and their consequent reaction on values are not being secured. In the realms of the manufacturing industries finished goods are classified as firsts, seconds, thirds, according as they represent the trade ideal of the object under discussion. The manager of a large industry knows the percentage of a given raw material, which of necessity will have to be worked over before it will be in shape to put upon the market as seconds. If this percentage increases it is his business to find the trouble. He looks at the grade of material his buyer has furnished; the oils used are tested; the machinery is inspected for reasons for imperfect yarn weaving; the dye stuffs for poor quality chemicals. All of this and more to explain a falling off in the quality and in the quantity of manufactured goods.

It is not my belief that we can apply efficiency methods in just this way to the education of children. The real education is secured, after all, with a Mark Hopkins and a student sitting on a log. But since those of Mark Hopkins' influence are limited we must seek other and quite as definite ways of securing for all the children, gifted in whatever degree, the development to which each can progress. The first evidence to be examined is the percentage of promotion in a given school. This in a rough way is analogous to production in industry.

The question is—Why were seven per cent or twenty per cent not promoted? To answer this we must look into the school attendance of the children, the frequency with which they change from school to school; their nativity, the language of the home, the number of children in the class, the size of the school; the enforcement of the compulsory education law, the course of study, the home conditions, the health of the child, the acuity of his vision and of his hearing; the degree and kind of his moral control. When this information is available we can begin to understand the problem of the Laggard—but this is only the beginning. This material constitutes the environment, what of his mental ability? What of his power to learn? What type of mind has he? Has the school attempted to train his type or a type it is thought he should have? Has the school dealt with things as they are or as the school thinks they should be?

To answer these questions necessitates for all school systems the establishment of a new department now found only in the larger centers, — the educational clinic.

The educational clinic concerns itself with those educational problems not solved, at present. Its method is Empirical; its material the developing minds of children who are different, to determine the type of mind, the rapidity with which it perceives and assimilates, the relation between its energy and the bodily strength at its command; to differentiate the motor minded from the visual, and both from the auditory; to send with each child characterized as a laggard an educational prescription, the application of which is to be a matter of observation and of record.

Associated with such an educational clinic will be a Social Service Bureau which will concern itself with the social facts of the child's life, such as the economic status of the family the probable heredity, the parents' story of the child's developmental history, both prenatal and portnatal. The child's playtime and his worktime; his connection with churches, Sunday School, settlement clubs, sewing classes, manual training classes. This Bureau will collect data as to the relation of poverty with its consequent license and the child's school progress; the relation between poverty and irregular attendance; the cost to the city of allowing mothers to work out of the home, thereby putting the burden of getting to school on the shoulders too young to bear it; the connection between uncorrected sense defects and repetition of school work, the economy of large classes; the price we pay for repeaters whose childhood strength is given to the economic struggle for food and shelter.

What is to be done for him?

We are to know the type of mind and train that. The motor minded children will not be driven to literature and history. Neither will those of literary tastes be sent to the workshops. The educational training which we now provide for the children of this democracy is essentially aristocratic.

While we talk of the dignity of labor we proceed to do our best to live up to the traditional aristocratic educational theories of the Egyptian priests in the Temple of Karnac, of the Greeks in the Age of Pericles; of the Romans in the age of Augustus Ceaser; of the Monks and Churchmen of the Rennassance; of the aristocracy of Rugby, Eton, Harrow and Winchester, of the present day. If we grant that our educational system is fundamentally aristocratic we must proceed to a rearrangment of our educational practice.

When we conceive to be the development of the powers of an individual we will have smaller classes, special classes of all types and kinds, more individual freedom, reverence for personality. We will recognize that school is life, not preparation for living; that the child's instinctive reactions from day to day are just those he will make in the community where his industrial life will be lived. We will appreciate that as the child in school learns day by day to direct his effort to the creation of new forms, to adapt his reactions in order to create an ethical and moral atmosphere, he will come to realize in himself industry and morality.

There is a problem of the laggard. In its superficial aspects we have recognized it but its ultimate solution is far below. The work of the school is one of unprecedented intricacy. It is extricably bound up with all the sociological problems of our time, its relation to crime, poverty, health, to vice, is dimly perceived. The price we now know we pay when a home is needlessly broken up is greater than that we pay for Repeaters made such by the poverty which drives the mother out early in the morning, but it is the same kind of coin. To look back upon your own childhood you will agree that the orderly, busy breakfast time; the mother and the younger children standing at the door to wave good-bye as you start for school was a time of character growth, habits of industry, mutual helpfulness, strength forwardness, were made into flesh and bone. Its value, who can estimate? Or that time after supper with father and mother, their day's work over, industrious with many things. The time that the poet calls the children's hour. Who can count its value as evening succeeded evening all through that formative period. Would you have been the same man had you, like hundreds of children in the big cities of this land, been left asleep each morning while your mother went out into the world busy with the things of life which would not be put by, grasping from the fray food, clothing and shelter, but unable to give that nourishment to the divine spark within, the full flame of which gives meaning and value to life. The house now is the home of the body but it must again become the home of the souls of children. The children must be taken back from the street and the factory and restored to the home. The mother must be freed from lesser things in order to develop the greater unity, character and strength in her children.

The problem of the school laggard is not understood.

He is entangled in a net which prevents his own growth

and consequently limits the wealth and thwarts the interests of the community. To free him means medical inspection of school children, research study of the minds of backward children, smaller schools, small classes, special types of classes, freedom from exhausting labor, restoration of his mother's care. (Applause).

THE PRESIDENT: Now, the subject is open for discussion. This is an important subject and one that we are all interested in. It is closely associated with what is to follow. We have but a few minutes for discussion, perhaps ten minutes.

DISCUSSION

DR. HART: Assuming that there were 19 or 20 per cent. of your children who failed of promotion. Have you any rough estimate of the proportion of those children whose failure is on account of defectiveness, and the proportion of those who belong to the hopeful portion which can be reached and developed and put in line? Is it half and half?

MISS FARRELL: I couldn't say whether it is half and half or not. You know better than most in the audience that we have been simply swamped with work. The amount of work to be done has grown all out of proportion to the number of workers doing it. Our plan this year calls for the examination of the type of children that offers material worth saving to the community and from this time we will know out of one thousand children how many are really of defective mentality and how many are real Daniel Websters in making.

MISS CRITCHLEY of Cleveland: How about the course of study in your ungraded classes; is that the same as in the regular school?

MISS FARRELL: I think ours are the only schools which are doing what present day pedagogy says must be done and that is to adapt the education to the child. We have no course of study; each child who enters such a class comes with a prescription as from a doctor. So we are going to develop, if possible, the prescription idea, the child coming into an ungraded class will carry with him perhaps a prescription which says his training will be possible along sense lines only, or this boy will never learn to read, or this boy needs carpentry, chair caning, etc., let his education go along this line. That is the only obligation that is put on a teacher of that class to follow the prescription given after a careful examination.

MISS CRITCHLEY: Then you have those classes already?

MISS FARRELL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: What system have you of eliminating poor teachers from the schools, the teachers who make laggards?

MISS FARRELL: That seems a popular question. We haven't any. There is a system of elimination of teachers in New York City: it is the pension system. Of course, we have to wait twenty-five years and we have a whole generation of laggards manufactured in that time. I wouldn't put the blame on the teacher, but think of the absurdity of asking a teacher to teach fifty children? There is the absurdity. How can any woman or man take care of the developing personality of fifty chil-

dren. It can't be done. The course of study which everybody is blaming is the only thing that will work. The education which I have been trying to present is an expensive thing. It will cost hundreds and thousands of dollars; it will mean in my own city instead of school buildings accommodating 3,000 children; it will mean buildings accommodating 600. We have taken over from commercial life the whole idea of bigness. I remember speaking a few years ago to a teacher in London and telling her that we were going to have the largest school building in the world. She said, "What a calamity," and I then told her we were going to have elevators, and she thought that was the worst thing she ever heard of, and I went away thinking the English are slow. The next day I got a letter from this woman and she was really more grieved than I appreciated. She said in this letter, "You are a young teacher just starting out don't get such ideas in your head." For the first time, I began to realize that fifty children under one teacher is altogether too many. I think if you will have smaller schools and smaller classes, educational clinics in order that children may be classified, not on their ability to read page 37 or page 62, but classify them on the type of mind they have, you will do away entirely with the teacher who manufactures the laggard.

MR. PENN: In your opinion, what number constitutes the ideal school?

MISS FARRELL: I don't think any teacher can cope with more than twenty children. She can impart information, but she cannot make for them the environment which will develop their own personalities. I say, have a very small class and certainly not over 500 to a school principal.

MISS GRACE M. BOHNE, DIRECTOR, CHILD STUDY LABORATORY, ROCHESTER:

On what basis are you going to decide which children shall meet this eminent body of men? On what basis?

MISS FARRELL: That will bring in another story. In New York City for seven years we have been examining the defective children and it is an astonishing fact that we have found so many hundreds and thousands of them; so many children handicapped to such a degree that they cannot probably be self-supporting. Now as our present plan looks toward a cooperation between the city school and the state institution. We want to bring about the time when these 2,700 who need institutional care will be just drafted right off to the institution from the public school and left there permanently. This will leave room for this other type of child. In times past, we have had for every defective child, every truly defective child, we have had certainly five who were not normal and yet who were not, so far as we could determine, defective. We have not been able to do anything for the five children. They were below this level of normality and still not down in the definitely defective class. We are planning to have a clinic where attention will be given entirely to these children, not the defective, but these neurotic personalities which develop in one or two different ways. We expect to have all the school principals report to us all children of certain types, all difficult children, all irritable and nervous children, all children who have organic defects as determined by the Board of Health, all children whose mental development is uneven; take the children who are good in the scientific lines and poor in the other lines. We will take all of them and determine with the aid of this body of experts just what education is to be given to them. This will give an opportunity to bring in all repeaters in the schools and with the aid of the social service bureau, the physician will have at his disposal a true report of the home conditions of the child. From the

school principal we will have a true record of his school history and educational progress; from the Board of Health we will have a record of his physical ability and the presence or absence of defects. With these three reports as a basis, they will proceed to their examination.

MISS BOHNE: May I ask how much time are you going to give.

MISS FARRELL: We have a clinic every day.

MISS BOHNE: How long do they last?

MISS FARRELL: Every afternoon.

MISS BOHNE: Do these physicians give their time gratuitously?

MISS FARRELL: Yes, none others will be taken. One of the pathetic things that Dr. Meyer tells is this, that he never has had a case of defined neurosis presented to him that he hasn't had to review that patient in retrospect. They have to trace back step by step and the doctor has to bring together the significant things and make a diagnosis. Our plan for these unusual children, (we will begin on the 8th of September) is to compile records so that in ten years Dr. Hoke can send to the Board of Education and say "What do you know about John Smith who attended public school 908 in such a year?" Then we will have provided the doctor with a transcript of that record which will be consecutive from the time of the first examination until the child leaves school. In that way we hope to make a definite contribution and help the psychiatrists to solve problems.

MRS. BIGELOW OF ROCHESTER: Miss Farrell spoke of sending 2,200 to an institution where they would be cared for all their life. Have you laws which enable you to do that?

MISS FARRELL: No, we haven't. I think it isn't necessary at all to settle this problem in my own lifetime. We have always had the feebleminded. I think if we can lay the foundation so that neurologists and psychiatrists a hundred years hence will solve this problem we will do well.

THE PRESIDENT: I am sorry to stop this discussion. It is a pity we didn't get started sooner, but there is another part of the program in which you will be as much interested. The next paper is on psychological principles underlying the Binet-Simon Scale and some practical considerations for its correct use. The writer of this paper is detained in California by sickness, but it will be read by Dr. Barrows who will have charge of the program for the rest of the morning. Dr. Barrows is the medical inspector of the schools here in Buffalo.

DR. FRANKLIN W. BARROWS: Ladies and Gentlemen: If you have ever attempted to read in a public a scientific paper written by somebody else, I am sure you will extend your sympathies to me this morning.



Psychological Principles Underlying The Binet-Simon Scale

Lewis M. Terman

Associate Professor of Education, Stanford University.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BINET SIMON TEST

Psychologists had experimented with intelligence tests for at least thirty years before the Binet-Simon Scale made its appearance. The question naturally suggests itself why the latter should have proved so successful and previous effort so futile. There are three respects in which the Binet-Simon tests represent a departure from most previous work in this line.

A. In the first place, Binet was the first to make use of the scale or norm idea. By this plan one devises a series of tests ranging from very easy to difficult and then ascertains empirically how far children of the different ages can go in the series. It will be understood, of course, that Binet did not set out to invent tests of six year intelligence, ten year intelligence, etc., but that the correct placing of the tests was arrived at by trying them out on different ages.

The plan has the great advantage of giving us standards or norms, which are easily grasped. For example, the average performances in these tests of a large number of children, all of whom are eight years of age, can be called "eight year intelligence", and similarly for the other age norms. To say, for illustration, that such and such a 12 year old child has the intelligence normal to eight years is a statement whose general import need not be explained. Previous investigators had worked with subjects the degree of whose intelligence was unknown, and with tests the difficulty of which was equally unknown. An immense amount of ingenuity spent in devising tests which were used in such a way as to preclude any very meaningful interpretation of the responses. And yet the scale idea is a device so simple and necessary that one marvels why it should have been overlooked

so long. It is the story again of Columbus and the egg.

B. In the second place, the Binet tests differs from previous attempts in that they are designed to test the higher and more complex mental functions instead of the simple and elementary processes. Hence they set problems for the reasoning powers and ingenuity, provoke judgments about abstract matters, etc., instead of attempting to measure sense-discrimination, physiological retentiveness, rapidity of reaction and the like. Experimenters had generally considered the higher mental processes too complex to be measured directly, and accordingly sought to get at them indirectly by correlating supposed intelligence with simpler processes which could be measured. While they were disputing over their various contradictory findings in this line of exploration Binet went directly to the point and succeeded where they had failed. It is now generally admitted, that higher intelligence is little concerned in the elementary processes. Many of the animals have keen sensory discrimination. Imbeciles do not differ very markedly from normal children in sensitivity of the skin, visual acuity, simple reaction time, type of imagery, etc. But in power of comprehension, abstraction and ability to direct thought, in the nature of the association processes, information and spontaneity of attention, they differ enormously.

C. Finally, Binet's success came from his abandonment of the "faculty psychology" which, notwithstanding the general supposition to the contrary, had largely given direction to the current work with mental tests. Where others had attempted to measure memory, attention, sense discrimination, etc. as separate capacities or functions, Binet undertook merely to ascertain the general level of intelligence. Others had thought the task easier of accomplishment by measuring each division or aspect of intelligence separately and summing the results. Binet, after years of exploration along the old lines, broke away from them and undertook, so to speak, to triangulate the height of his tower without first getting the dimensions of the individual stones which made it up. At first blush it would seem easier to measure a part, or one aspect, of intelligence than all of it, but Binet showed that such is not the case. The fallacy lies in the fact that the parts are not separated by any refinement of experiment. They are interwoven and intertwined. Each ramifies everywhere. The analogy of the individual stones of the tower does not really apply. Memory, for example, cannot be tested separately from attention. or sense

discrimination separately from associative processes, etc. Instead of vainly trying to disentangle them Binet decided to test their combined functional capacity, without even pretending to analyze in any final way the relative contribution of each to the total product. Intelligence tests have been successful just to the extent to which they have been guided by this aim.

Avowed Limitations of the Binet Tests.

In several instances the Binet tests have been severely criticised because of their unfitness for certain services which in reality they were never meant to render. This is unfair. We can not make a just evaluation of the scale without bearing in mind their avowed limitations.

In the first place, they do not pretend to test, or measure, the entire mentality of the child, but only intelligence. There is no pretense of testing the emotions or the will except in so far as these naturally display themselves in the tests of intelligence. This at once restricts the use of the scale very greatly. It is not a tool for the analysis of those emotional or volitional aberrations which lead to mental disorder or criminality, except in so far as these involve disturbances of intelligence. No one has ever supposed that hysteria, for example, presents a progressive reduction of intelligence to the infantile level. Not only do factors other than intelligence play a leading role with respect to sanity, morality, etc. but they even determine the direction in which the intelligence itself shall be applied, its method of work, and therefore its fruitfulness.

Secondly, the Binet scale does not pretend to test the full range of an individual's intelligence, but only its general level. It can never serve as a detailed chart for vocational guidance, although it is certainly capable of bounding the vocational territory in which the individual's intelligence would probably permit success. Some people, I find, seem to look upon the tests as a kind of new and reliable phrenology.

Nor do the tests pretend to be an infallible guide for pedagogical procedure. When a pupil has been tested the teacher frequently asks, "How shall I change my methods to suit the needs of this child?" It ought hardly be necessary to emphasize that although pedagogical methods must take account of the results of intelligence tests, the latter do not suggest in detail the appropriate methods. Suitable educational treatment of various grades of intelligence will have to be patiently and laboriously worked out in practice.

General Reliability of the Scale.

Tests of the scale have sufficiently demonstrated its general reliability, disregarding of course the admitted need of certain improvements. With the partial exception of Treves and Saffioti, the Italian investigators, who while in the main approving the tests are inclined to look with distrust upon the Binet method of grading intelligence by mental ages, all who have worked with the scale agree on this point. One who knows how to apply the tests correctly and who is experienced in the interpretation of responses can give a more enlightening estimate as to the general level of a child's intelligence after a single forty minute sitting than it would be possible for the intelligent teacher or physician to give on the basis of many months of close observation. Dr. Kuhlmann satisfactorily proves this, at least as regards feeble-minded children. He had 150 such children whose mental ages ranged by the Binet scale from 8 to 12 years graded by their teachers. Three or more teachers graded each child and were allowed two months in which to make the estimation. Their classification was then compared with that given by the Binet scale. The results showed wide disagreement among the teachers in estimating the intelligence of the same children. For 9 children the difference amounted to four years; for 9 others the difference was three years; and for 19, two years. Dr. Kuhlmann concludes that as regards this class of children "there can be no question about the fact that the Binet-Simon tests do not make half as frequent or half as great errors in mental ages as result from gradings on careful; prolonged general observation by experienced observers."

Goddard's observation on the industrial capacity of different mental ages among feeble-minded individuals are also valuable evidence as to the reliability of the tests, since his tabulations reveal a gradual increase in occupational efficiency with rise of mental age.

Bobertag and others have found the reliability of the scale for normal children confirmed in the fact that when those of any age are tested by the scale there results a distribution of mental ages very similar to the so-called normal curve of distribution. That is, the number testing one or two or three years plus is approximately equal to the number testing the same amount minus. Where this fails to be the case only a re-arrangement of the tests is necessary to make it so.

The correlations of Binet mental age with school advancement are fairly high and with reservations may be taken as confirming the accuracy of the method. Too much stress must not be placed on this; however. We shall doubtless be nearer the truth to consider the tests a standard for determining the correctness of school grading rather than vice versa.

Abelson's careful statistical treatment of the data secured by the application of a series of mental tests, including a few taken from the Binet scale, demonstrated that the result of a single individual test (as for example the test of memory for sentences) has a slightly lower degree of reliability than the teacher's estimate; that the pooled results of two tests fully equal the teacher's estimate in value, and that the pooled results of eight or nine tests are incomparably more reliable.

Common observation does not give us definite or usable standards for judging the degree of 'brightness or dullness' and often leads to quite erroneous conclusions. A common error of the teacher is to overestimate the intelligence of the retarded child. This is due to the unconscious use of the same standard for all the children in a class regardless of age differences. For example, eleven year old A.P. was in the low second grade. She was able to do the work of this grade, not well, but almost passably. Her teacher inferred from this that the girl was only a little less bright than the other children of her class. What she overlooked was that A.P. was being measured by a seven year standard, and that instead of able to do second grade tasks indifferently she ought to have been equal to do the work of the fifth or six grade. In reality she was a feeble-minded child with an intelligence of barely six years.

Another source of error in the teacher's judgment is the tendency to overestimate the intelligence of the sprightly sanguine child and to credit too little the intelligence of the child who appears slow and apathetic. On the other hand, no one has found the tests to be wholly satisfactory. This holds for the most of the individual tests and for the scale as a whole. Though the Binet revision of 1911 represents in the main an advance over the scale of 1908, it is by no means perfect. Several of the tests, especially in the lower and upper range, are not correctly placed, while others are either not well adapted to display intellectual differences or else give too much play to chance error in giving the tests or interpreting the response. My data on about 800 children have convinced

me that the revisions others have made in the placing of the tests and in the procedure are not radical enough.

One desideratum is to secure tests the responses to which will be least influenced by the ordinary differences among children in their intellectual and social environment. We can not hope, however, to test intelligence apart from all environmental influences. Intelligence can only show itself in the acquisition of particular knowledge, particular skill, and the like, gained through particular experience. Intelligence can not work without ideas, and the nature and range of these depend partly upon accidents of environment. In our efforts to measure intelligence, therefore, we always measure intelligence plus a certain kind and amount of training. Nevertheless it is possible to choose tests the responses to which will not be greatly affected by such differences in training and experience as are ordinarily found among the children of a fairly homogeneous civilization.

Dr. Kuhlmann has appropriately emphasized the fact that the susceptibility of a test to the influence of differences in training can not be judged from theoretical considerations. We can only rely on the statistical treatment of data gathered in such a way as to display the influence in case it exists. The various investigators, basing their judgment on mere inspection, general impressions and opinion, are far from agreed as to which tests are especially liable to this error; and Kuhlmann shows that some of the tests which all have criticised on this ground are less objectionable than certain others which had been supposed quite satisfactory. Much work remains to be done before we shall know the full extent of this error for the individual tests.

Again, it would be desirable to have a somewhat more representative range of tests. The scale is especially lacking in tests of that sort of intelligence which is most concerned with practical judgment in the manipulation of things, mechanical ingenuity, or what Thorndike has called "think-thinking" as contrasted with "idea-thinking." There are many kinds of intelligence, and each should be given due opportunity to contribute to the total result of the test. No test taken by itself can be satisfactory and an "ideal intelligence test" is in the very nature of the case an impossibility. The only feasible method is to test a wide range of functions and pool results.

Special Sources of Error.

As the scale now stands there are several sources of error. Chance, for example, plays too great a part in such tests as stating whether it is morning or afternoon, which of two weights is the heavier, which of two pictures is prettier, which of two lines is longer, giving sex, uniting the parts of a divided card (test of patience), distinguishing right and left, etc.

Another difficulty is that of scoring. There is much room for the personal equation in deciding whether the child has passed such tests as copying a square or a diamond, reproducing geometrical figures, describing and interpreting pictures, answering "questions of comprehension," giving definitions, etc. It is not desirable to eliminate all such tests, but it will be necessary to define more carefully the conditions for giving them and to lay down rules which will secure a more uniform interpretation.

In fact, the procedure throughout the tests deserves more consideration than has generally been accorded it. Apparently very slight changes in procedure are capable of entirely transforming a test psychologically. For example, it is customary in the test of naming sixty words in three minutes for the experimenter to illustrate what is wanted of the child by himself naming three or four words. I have found that the performance is improved if one illustrates with common words or with names of objects which are present in the room, and that the performance is injured if the illustrations chosen are unfamiliar or abstract words. Success in this test is also likely to be influenced by the immediate surroundings of the child. The test varies in difficulty according to whether the room is bare or filled with objects and bric-a-brac, whether it permits a view of the landscape, etc.

The distinction between such terms as "enumeration," "description" and "interpretation" of pictures has no significance unless the pictures are properly chosen and the procedure standardized. Some pictures provoke almost nothing beyond enumeration, even among older and very intelligent children, while others readily provoke description and interpretation on the part of young or retarded children. The series of pictures should be of uniform difficulty and should be presented always in the same order. Let us suppose that these principles are not complied with and that of the three pictures A, B and C, A and B tend to provoke description, and C interpretation. Now if the experimenter begins by

showing A or B first, the habit of description is likely to be carried through the whole series. On the other hand, if C is presented first, interpretation is initiated and tends to persist. The Binet series is by no means ideal for the purpose, nor is any other that I have seen. Experiments should be made for securing suitable pictures.

Likewise, in the test of definitions by use or superior to use I have found that there are words which even university students nearly always define in terms of use, while other words, like fork and chair of the Binet series, are usually defined in this way by children of four years. Some words are almost impossible to define in a logical way, others easy. Accordingly, if the words used for the definitions test are not comparable with respect to the type of definition provoked special precaution in scoring will be necessary. In any case it is best, as in the case of the pictures, to give the words always in the same order.

The test of arranging weights is sometimes given by first demonstrating to the child what he is expected to do, the experiment hefting the weights, etc. Others merely tell him what he is expected to do and leave him to find his own method. These are really two different tests.

And so we could continue indefinitely. A whole chapter could be written on the sources of error for each test. It is imperative for any one who intends to use the tests for psychological purposes or in the serious diagnosis of children to be cognizant of the pitfalls. As Binet himself urged, the system of tests is not analogous to a nickel-in-the-slot machine. Its correct use requires patience to learn the exact procedure and a keen sense for psychologically important differences of response. Neither is likely to be found in high degree in persons who have not had a laboratory training in psychology.

It is not all necessary, however, to limit the use of the tests strictly to those persons who have had ideal training for their use. Even with the imperfect directions now available the intelligent physician, teacher, school nurse or parent can very quickly gain a better idea of a child's intelligence than would be possible from long observation. With the amplified and simplified directions which we may hope to have soon the use of the tests could be greatly extended, although only the psychologist is qualified to use it for psychological diagnosis and research.

In this connection we may mention the need of researchs which will reliably establish the degree of accuracy to be expected from the use of the tests by untrained persons.

But whatever the scientific equipment of the person who uses the tests, there are many practical considerations which must be regarded. In the first place, it is essential to get into friendly rapport with the child before beginning the test. Self assurance must be strengthened by lavish encouragement. In general, the worse the response the better satisfied one must seem to be with it. The room must be quiet. The test should proceed without any interruption. The presence of others is ordinarily too distracting to be permissible. The parent or teacher especially must be present. Demonstration test before classes are usually highly unsatisfactory.

The order of the tests is important. The sitting should begin with tests which are interesting to the child and which tend to relieve the embarrassment of the situation. Especially suitable are such tests as give the child something definite to do which is not too foreign to his previous experience. Such tests as questions of comprehension, naming words, finding rhymes, rearranging words to make sense, memory for sentences, and the like are entirely unsuited to begin with. One must also guard against opening the examination with tests that are too hard, or with tests that are easy enough to excite the child's contempt or make him careless.

The tests should proceed rapidly. It takes some skill to jot down the responses as fully as it is desirable without keeping the child waiting. The latter must be carefully avoided. The material should be placed where it will not have to be hunted for. If the test is properly conducted the child can be kept interested and at his best level of performance to the very end. Under no circumstances should any of the scoring be left until after the test. The jottings should be made with the least possible display of hurry and motion.

Too much care can not be taken to see that the child understands what is expected of him for each test. There is no limit to the multitude of misunderstandings possible. After testing hundreds of children, one still finds new examples of misapprehension. It is out of the question to place one's reliance entirely in a set verbal formula for giving the test, and additional explanations are often necessary.

But these must be given without in any way helping the child in his response. To avoid giving help would theoretically not appear difficult, but in my experience it is one of the hardest things for the amateur to learn. Indeed it is al-

showing A or B first, the habit of description is likely to be carried through the whole series. On the other hand, if C is presented first, interpretation is initiated and tends to persist. The Binet series is by no means ideal for the purpose, nor is any other that I have seen. Experiments should be made for securing suitable pictures.

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But these must be given without in any way helping the child in his response. To avoid giving help would theoretically not appear difficult, but in my experience it is one of the hardest things for the amateur to learn. Indeed it is al-

most impossible to impress this danger sufficiently upon untrained observers. One who is not familiar with the psychology of suggestion may help the child to answer test after test without being in the least aware of the fact. If teachers and physicians are to use the scale it will be necessary for the directions to state in great detail what may and may not be said or done in the giving of each test, although no one may hardly hope to devise a set of "fool-proof" instructions.

Another possibility of error is the psychical disposition of the child when the test is given. This will be unfavorable if the child has recently suffered alarm, anger, anxiety, etc., For example, the child arrested and brought into court for the first time is not in a suitable frame of mind for such a test.

Attention should also be paid to the state of health. Toothache, headache, earache, nausea, fever, a cold, etc., all render the test inadvisable.

The Significance of Various Grades of Mental Retardation.

Even if we had a perfect scale and applied it with every regard for correctness of procedure there would still remain the problem of arriving at a practical and psychological interpretation of the degree of retardation or advancement found. This, as Bobertag and Kuhlmann have emphasized, is no simple matter. What, for example, will probably be the mental age at twelve years of a child who was two years retarded at six? To answer such questions we must know approximately the curve of mental development for normal children and for children of different degrees of mental superiority or inferiority. We do not yet have sufficient data to enable us to construct such curves.

It is evident, however, that to indicate the degree of retardation or advancement in years, as Binet does, will be misleading unless it is borne in mind that a year of retardation or advancement does not always have the same significance. The child of four years who tests at two years is retarded half his age and will probably not rise higher than the level of imbecile, while the twelve year old who tests at ten is retarded to a relatively slight degree.

Stern has proposed to represent mental retardation or advancement by the quotient of real age divided by mental age. This is termed the Intelligence Quotient. This is no doubt an improvement over Binet's method, but as Bobatag has shown, this formula also probably needs correction. The best means of arriving at a valid method will be to test the same children at several different periods in their development and to follow their later histories.

The problem is not only one of great importance for the educational treatment of retarded or talented children, but is one of far reaching consequences for child psychology in general.

THE PRESIDENT: I know there are in this audience many people who would like to discuss this paper, but there are children waiting and perhaps, Dr. Barrows, after the demonstration can answer some of the questions in our minds. Miss Rogers, of Iowa, is going to help Dr. Barrows conduct the experiment, so during the examination let us make no demonstration of any kind.. If the child says something cute, don't laugh and do not comment on what it said.

DR. BARROWS: We have several cases to be tested and you may see as many as you choose. Dr. Douwell of Vineland, N. J., has kindly consented to test a case. We will have that examination next.

Examination of Michael.

- Q. What is your name? A. No response.
- Q. Give me your hand. A. o.k.
- Q. Stand up. A. (The boy stood up)
- Q. Sit down. A. (The boy sat down)
- Q. Walk down there. (The boy walked as told)
- Q. Walk straight. Walk down there again. Notice his gait.
- Q. Sit down. A. (The boy sat down)

Dr. Douwell: This boy is very evidently a special type of feeble-mindedness known as the Mongolian type. He has the slanting eyes.

Q. Let me see your tongue. His tongue isn't badly marked. He was sitting cross-legged like a tailor which is characteristic.. His hands are rough and his fingers are stubby; he also had a very bad gait and he has been sucking his thumb. I don't suppose he will do much of anything.

- Q. What is your name? A. (No response)
- Q. What is that? A. No response)
- Q. What is this? A. (No response.)
- Q. What color is that? A. (No response)

DR. BARROWS: Perhaps Miss Hill who is examiner at Vineland will come down and perhaps she can get some information from him better than a man. They tell me this is a man's boy; he likes men better than the ladies.

Examination by Miss Hill

- Q. What is your name? A. (No response.)
- Q. Where did you get your tie? A. (No response)
- Q. Did your Mama give it to you? A. (Shakes head yes)
- Q. What color is it? A. (No response)
- Q. What is that? A. A penny
- Q. What is this? A. A man
- Q. What is this? A. (No response)
- Q. Find something else; put your finger on something; put your finger on something and tell me what it is. A. (No response)
- Q. What is this? A. (No response)
- Q. What is this? A. Pen
- Q. Would you like it? An (Shakes head, yes)
- Q. If you tell me these pictures, I will you this pencil.

most impossible to impress this danger sufficiently upon untrained observers. One who is not familiar with the psychology of suggestion may help the child to answer test after test without being in the least aware of the fact. If teachers and physicians are to use the scale it will be necessary for the directions to state in great detail what may and may not be said or done in the giving of each test, although no one may hardly hope to devise a set of "fool-proof" instructions.

Another possibility of error is the psychical disposition of the child when the test is given. This will be unfavorable if the child has recently suffered alarm, anger, anxiety, etc., For example, the child arrested and brought into court for the first time is not in a suitable frame of mind for such a test.

Attention should also be paid to the state of health. Toothache, headache, earache, nausea, fever, a cold, etc., all render the test inadvisable.

The Significance of Various Grades of Mental Retardation.

Even if we had a perfect scale and applied it with every regard for correctness of procedure there would still remain the problem of arriving at a practical and psychological interpretation of the degree of retardation or advancement found. This, as Bobertag and Kuhlmann have emphasized, is no simple matter. What, for example, will probably be the mental age at twelve years of a child who was two years retarded at six? To answer such questions we must know approximately the curve of mental development for normal children and for children of different degrees of mental superiority or inferiority. We do not yet have sufficient data to enable us to construct such curves.

It is evident, however, that to indicate the degree of retardation or advancement in years, as Binet does, will be misleading unless it is borne in mind that a year of retardation or advancement does not always have the same significance. The child of four years who tests at two years is retarded half his age and will probably not rise higher than the level of imbecile, while the twelve year old who tests at ten is retarded to a relatively slight degree.

Stern has proposed to represent mental retardation or advancement by the quotient of real age divided by mental age. This is termed the Intelligence Quotient. This is no doubt an improvement over Binet's method, but as Bobatag has shown, this formula also probably needs correction. The best means of arriving at a valid method will be to test the same children at several different periods in their development and to follow their later histories.

The problem is not only one of great importance for the educational treatment of retarded or talented children, but is one of far reaching consequences for child psychology in general.

THE PRESIDENT: I know there are in this audience many people who would like to discuss this paper, but there are children waiting and perhaps, Dr. Barrows, after the demonstration can answer some of the questions in our minds. Miss Rogers, of Iowa, is going to help Dr. Barrows conduct the experiment, so during the examination let us make no demonstration of any kind.. If the child says something cute, don't laugh and do not comment on what it said.

DR. BARROWS: We have several cases to be tested and you may see as many as you choose. Dr. Douwell of Vineland, N. J., has kindly consented to test a case. We will have that examination next.

Examination of Michael.

Q. What is your name? A. No response.

Q. Give me your hand. A. o.k.

Q. Stand up. A. (The boy stood up)

Q. Sit down. A. (The boy sat down)

Q. Walk down there. (The boy walked as told)

Q. Walk straight. Walk down there again. Notice his gait.

Q. Sit down. A. (The boy sat down)

Dr. Douwell: This boy is very evidently a special type of feeble-mindedness known as the Mongolian type. He has the slanting eyes.

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Q. What is this? A. (No response)

Q. What is this? A. Pen

Q. Would you like it? An (Shakes head, yes)

Q. If you tell me these pictures, I will you this pencil.

Rochester, N. Y.

P. S. No.

Grade

Trans. to Sp. Cl. P. S. No.

Exam.

Ent.

Child Study Laboratory

RECORD BLANK FOR REVISED BINET TESTS

Mental Development Yrs.

Name

Address

Born

III

- 1 Points to nose, eyes, mouth.
- 2 Repeats "It rains I am hungry."
- 3 Repeats 7 2
- 4 Sees in Picture 1.

2
3.
4.
5.

IV

- 1 Knows sex, boy or girl. (girl or boy.)
- 2 Recognizes key, knife, penny
- 3 Repeats 7 4 s.
- 4 Compares lines.

V

- 1 Compares 3 and 12 grams. 6 and 15 grams, (over.)
- 2 Copies square.
- 3 Repeats, "His name is John. He is a very good boy"
- 4 Counts four pennies.
- 5 "Patience."

VI

- 1 Morning or afternoon (afternoon and morning)
- 2 Defines fork horse
table mama
chair

- 3 Puts key on chair, shuts door; bring box
- 4 Shows R hand. L. Ear.
- 5 Chooses prettier 1 & 2. 3 & 4 5 & 6.

VII

- 1 Counts 13 pennies.
- 2 Describes Pictures. (Sec. III 4)
- 3 Sees picture lacks eyes, nose, mouth, arms.
- 4 Can copy diamond. (over)
- 5 Recognizes red, blue, green, yellow. (Time 6.")

VIII

- 1 Compare (time 20")
Butterfly Wood
Fly Glass
Paper
Cloth

- 1 Counts backward 20-1.
- 2 Repeats days. M T W T F S S (Time 10 ")
- 3 Counts stamps 1 1 1 2 2 2. (Time 10)
- 4 Repeats 4 6 3 3 5

IX

- 1 Make change 20c-4c.
- 2 Definition (see VI 2.)
- 2 Knows date.
- 4 Months, J. F. M. A. M. J. J. A S. O N D. (Time 15.")
- 5 Arrange weights. (2 correct.) (1 minute each)

1 - 1

- 1 Money 1c. 5c 10c 25c. 50c. \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10 X
- 2 Copies design.
- 3 Repeats 8 5 4 7 2 6. 2 7 4 6 x 1 9 4 1 7 3 8
- 4 Comprehends.
(1st Series time 20",) (2 Series time 20")
2 out of 3 2 out of 3
1. 2.
3. 4.
5. 6.

- 5 Sentence: Rochester, Money, River. (Time 1")

- 1 Sees absurdity (3 out of 5) Time 2") XI

- a. Unfortunate painter.
- b. Three brothers.
- c. Locked in room.

d. R. H.udent
e. S. H.udent

- 2 Sentence: Rochester, Money, River. (See X 5)
- 3 Gives 60 words in three minutes. (over.)
- 4 Rhymes (Time 1' each) (s Rhymes)

- a. day mill
spring door
puts dissected sentences together (Time 1' each)

- a. We started at an early hour for the park.
- b. I have asked the teacher to correct my paper.
- c. A good dog defends his master bravely.

XII

- 1 Repeats 2964375. 9285164. 1795647.
- 2 Repeats Charity
Justice
Goodness

- 3 Repeats, "Children it is necessary to work very hard for a home. You must go every morning to your school."

"The other day I saw in the street a pretty young dog. Little Maurice has got spots on his new apron."

"Earnest is praised very often for his good conduct. I bought at the store a beautiful doll for my little sister."

"There occurred on that night a fearful tempest with lightning. My comrade has taken cold. He has fever and coughs very much."

- 4 Resists suggestion. (Lines.)
- 5 Problems; (a) Hanging from limb (b) Neighbor's visitors

XV

- 1 Interprets picture
- 2 Change clock hands. 6 20= 2 50=
- 3 Code. COME QUICKLY.
- 4 Opposites.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| 1 Good | 3 quick | 5 big | 7 white | 9 happy |
| 2 outside | 4 tall | 6 loud | 8 light | 10 false |

Examiner

DR. BARROWS: We have two or three other children ready to be tested.

Q. Where is your nose? (Points to nose)

Q. Put your finger on your eyes. A. (No response)

Q. Where is your mouth? A. (Points to mouth)

JUDGE ADDAMS: Will Dr. Barrows tell us something in a general way about these tests in about the next five minutes.

DR. BARROWS: I would suggest you ask Dr. Dowell,

DR. DOWELL: I will try my best to answer any questions that may come up. Practically all was covered in Dr. Terman's paper.

DR. HART: You are using these tests only for children admitted to the institution?

DR. DOWELL: The children are brought to us for clinical examination before admission to the institution and we examine any child brought to us. We have also examined some 2,000 children and are re-testing about 500 children a year. We have completed the third year of testing.

DR. HART: What do you find on your third year as compared with your first year?

DR. DOWELL: The results will be published this fall. I haven't handled the data myself.

DR. LEWIS: Do you have any settled hours; do you make tests in the evening?

DR. DOWELL: Practically any time, depending upon the conditions. Of course we don't like to test in the evening because of fatigue, fatigue on the part of the examiner as well as on the part of the child. If you are fatigued yourself, the child seems to take it up and you don't seem to get in sympathy with him. I was testing in New York City one year and tested a large number of evenings as late as ten o'clock and undoubtedly the results were not quite as successful.

A VOICE: Do you classify the children on this test or do you give them a test of the will power?

DR. DOWELL: Mostly on these tests. Of course, the case history of the child is very important, but for the most part when a child is retarded we believe he is feeble-minded, unless, of course, he may be insane and that usually develops in the examination.

THE PRESIDENT: I want to thank all those who have taken part in the demonstration. We have to put the lantern up for the afternoon program. This afternoon, as you will recall, Mr. Flexner was to have appeared on the program, he was to read on Juvenile Courts, but his place will be taken by Mr. Wade of the New York State Probation Commission and then Mr. Johnson gives his illustrated lecture on how New Jersey takes care of its feeble-minded.

The meeting is adjourned.

Fifth Session

Wednesday Afternoon, August 27.

PRESIDING: Hon. George S. Addams.

THE PRESIDENT: We will hear from the Committee on Nomination.

MR. GARDNER: Mr. President: For the Committee on Nominations, I have the honor to give the following list for the Conference of 1914. President, Elmer L. Coffeen, Westboro, Mass; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. F. Leslie Hayford, Boston; Vice-Presidents Mr. E. E. Gardner, Howard, Rhode Island; Mrs. Amigh of Birmingham, Ala.; Executive Committee: Dr. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, Chairman; Mr. George B. Robinson, New York; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis; Tenn; F. J. Sessions, Davenport; Dr. E. N. Clopper, Cincinnati; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer. Darlington, Pa; Mr. Harry Hill, Chicago; Mr. Charles W. Houston, Pittsburg, Pa.; Rev. Father Kirby, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the report of the Committee. Are there any further nominations? If not, what shall be done with the committee's report.

MR. GARDNER: I move that the secretary be allowed to cast one ballot for all of the persons named to these various offices.

A VOICE: Second the motion.

THE PRESIDENT: All in favor say aye, in opposition, no. The secretary has cast the ballot. They are unanimously elected.

I am sorry to say that Mr. Flexner isn't with us this afternoon, but I am glad that we have with us Frank E. Wade, Vice-President of the New York State Probation Commission, who will announce his subject.

FRANK E. WADE OF BUFFALO: I received a telegram a few days ago that it was impossible for Mr. Flexner to be here and he requested me to take his subject. Of course, it is your loss. I am unable to treat the subject in the masterful way Mr. Flexner would have treated it; still I will do my best. The Children's court.

The Children's Court.

Frank E. Wade.

Vice-President of the New York State Probation Commission.

The Children's Court is fundamentally a new application of the old established legal principles and public duties interpreted in the light of the modern spirit of social justice. It's amazing growth bears witness to the readiness and eagerness with which society grasps a great ideal when accompanied by a practical and workable plan.

The first Children's Court was organized in the City of Chicago in 1899. During the past fourteen years, forty-four states of the United States, the District of Columbia, and many foreign countries have established by law children's courts within their borders. An institution gradually developed from experience and experiment, testing the various forms of jurisdiction and procedure, adapting itself to the judicial systems of different states and countries, and to the social needs of varying communities, eliminating offensive and demoralizing and adopting constructive and humanizing methods of administration, the Children's Court after fourteen years of widely extended trial and usage has taken on a definite status, and demonstrated the jurisdiction, procedure, and methods, best fitted for the most effective work.

The Children's Court as a Legal Institution.

The founders of the Children's Court applied in its organization a fundamental principle of law, ancient in origin, and simple in fact, the doctrine of *parens patriae*. It has been a settled proposition for ages that the state is the ultimate parent of the child during minority, and owes to him a duty of protecting his property and moral welfare.

The English Court of Chancery early exercised its jurisdiction over the property of children, at times, directing the education and training of children inheriting estates. While the court of chancery did not trouble itself to any extent over the welfare of children without property, its rights and power so to do are expressed in the opinions of the chancellors.

Alongside of the Chancery Courts gradually grew up the common law applicable to criminal offences including arrest, indictment arraignment, trial by jury, acquittal, conviction and imprisonment. All these processes represented steady progress in safe-guarding individual rights. Personal liberty

and security became such important features of the law, that community responsibility for the child was overlooked. The judicial viewpoint in dealing with crime placed a definite responsibility on the individual, and interested itself mainly in determining his guilt or innocence, and in protecting him by a speedy trial and release, and in protecting the state by his punishment, if guilty.

The age of responsibility for crime was fixed at common law at seven years. Responsibility being designated by law no further attention was paid to the child, and he was thrown into the criminal hopper along with the adult. It was the new spirit of social justice, or rather a new appreciation of the Christian teaching of social justice that opened the eyes of the public to the injustice, the folly and the wrong of such treatment of child life. Society, recognizing its errors, and seeking legal precedents as usual for relief, found at hand the chancery courts possessing the requisite jurisdiction and functions for conducting the children's court as far as the child is concerned.

Most of the States of the United States in instituting Children's Courts placed them in courts having chancery jurisdiction. Some of the states, especially the Eastern States were hampered by constitutional restriction. In New York State, for instance, chancery jurisdiction was limited by the constitution to the Supreme Court, a state court. The children's Court was consequently left in the lower criminal courts, and during the past ten years constant and strenuous efforts have been made to inject by statutory enactments chancery-like procedure and treatment into these courts when dealing with children.

Separation of the confinement and trial of children from adults, conviction of children of juvenile delinquency only, no conviction but a judicial declaration that the child is in need of the care and protection of the state, the placing of Children's Courts in the County Courts of Monroe and Ontario Counties under a procedure similar to chancery, the creation of special Children's Courts in Buffalo and New York City, are all evidences of the struggle to break through the constitutional crust that is holding back the development of the Children's Court in New York State. All of this statutory enactment is more or less artificial, and the Children's Court will never reach its full usefulness until it is placed in a court exercising chancery jurisdiction. Since it is inadvisable to transfer the Children's Court to the Supreme Court in New York State, the alternative is to amend the constitu-

tion by conferring chancery jurisdiction on the County Courts, and erect a county court system of Children's Courts.

Courts exercising chancery jurisdiction solely are not equipped to handle cases of refractory and vicious adults who contribute to the delinquencies of children, or who commit offences against children. Children's Courts to be fully rounded and capable of treating effectively the delinquent child, and the adult responsible for such delinquency, or who commit offences against children must be vested with both chancery and criminal jurisdiction. When either jurisdiction is lacking in a children's court, such jurisdiction should be supplied by statutory enactment or constitutional amendment as the case may require.

Summarizing the structure and needs of the Children's Court from a legal viewpoint, it should possess both chancery and criminal jurisdiction; it should be a county or district court covering the rural section of the state; its procedure in children's cases should be chancery, and in adult cases criminal, and its administration in the treatment of children should be paternal and informal.

Considerable discussion has recently emerged over the proposition of consolidating the Children's Court and the Domestic Relations Court. Domestic Relations Courts are developing splendidly in the lower criminal courts, and should remain there at least for the present.

The problems of the Children's Court and the Domestic Relations Courts are too big, and have too many points of variance to be comingled and confused. While the duties of the two courts may overlap at times, as for example in cases of child dependency or neglect and non-support, the courts differ widely in procedure and treatment.

Each is an important social court. Each court has illimitable field for usefulness and its own peculiar functions. Even if the processes of both courts should come in contact occasionally, such cases ought to be well treated in having the agencies of the two courts operating from different angles on the children, the homes, and the parents or guardians.

The Children's Court as a Social Institution

The Children's Court rest at the basis of all correctional agencies. Crime is not decreasing, and the hope of the future under existing economic and social conditions lies largely in the Children's Court. The children of today will be cit-

izens of the next decade and generation, and if they are kept clean and honest and industrious, crime and poverty must necessarily diminish. It is the wayward, self-indulgent and delinquent child who is most likely to form the criminal mind which makes the confirmed and dangerous criminal. It is the lazy, truant and neglected child who is most likely to become the pauper and vagrant. It is the mentally and physically defective child who is most likely to become a criminal or pauper, or both. One of the great social needs of the times is to reach the child before he has gone too far in forming the criminal mind, or become too confirmed in habits of sloth and self-indulgence, or sunk too deep in mental incompetency, and treat, and correct, or segregate him, as the case may require. The problem is none too big for society to handle, and only calls for sufficient public interest and adequate organization.

The Children's Court will be the central and most vital part of any such organization. It ought to be the clearing house for all child saving agencies and activities. Its jurisdiction including the delinquent, truant, dependent and neglected child, and all persons or corporations contributing to such delinquency, truancy, dependency and neglect makes necessary a close and harmonious co-operation with the correctional departments, the educational departments, the charity departments and the health departments of cities, counties, and states, and with numerous semi-public and private societies engaged in child saving and other forms of social work. Good judgment and competent administration in the exercise of its authority and in the disposition of its cases will encourage, stimulate, and vitalize all these public departments, and private societies in their efforts for the rescue, improvement and uplift of the child.

Necessary Adjuncts of the Children's Court.

Adequate jurisdiction and liberal procedure cannot alone make an efficient Children's Court. Certain administrative agencies are essential to its success, chief of which are the juvenile probation system and the detention home.

The administration of the Children's Court is in large part a probation proposition. The judge is unable to justly and properly handle the cases, unless he has before him preliminary investigation made by dependable probation officers showing the character, antecedents, environment and home and school and church relations of the child. Probationary over-

sight must necessarily be the treatment for most of the cases adjudged in need of correction, and sufficient good probation officers are the prime requisites in the management of the court.

A detention home, while not so necessary as the probation organization, is essential to a well conducted Children's Court. Children when detained by the public should be surrounded by wholesome influences and environment. A detention home should be made as much as possible a real home, and be furnished with sufficient rooms for the separation of the boys and girls, and for the segregation of different grades of boys and girls, and with rooms for school and medical and clinical purposes, and should be provided with a physician to examine and treat the inmates, and a teacher assigned to instruct them in letters and manual training. There should also be a playground, and a clinic for the examination and observation of defectives.

The Delinquent Child in the Childrens' Court

The principle function of the Childrens' Court is the treatment and correction of the delinquent child. Delinquency is invariably defined by statute, and covers all cases of children who violate the laws of the state or the ordinances of cities and villages, and often includes other acts or conduct designated in the statutes.

Delinquency is not criminal in the viewpoint of the Childrens' Court. The child has committed an offence against the state, and the state as his *parens patriae* treats and disciplines him as a wise and firm father would handle a wayward son. Of course, the special offence charged must first be proven. That phase of our old procedure should certainly be followed, and into the adjudication no extraneous *ex parte* statements, reports, or matters should enter.

After the adjudication of the commission of the offence the new treatment departs radically from the old. It is no longer punishment for a particular offence, but a comprehensive problem for the improvement and uplift of the child in the light of all the facts of his history, conduct and environment. Three methods of disposition of the delinquent are generally open to the court, admonition, probation, or commitment to a correctional institution.

Admonition should be exercised with discretion. Some first offenders, and trivial cases may properly be dismissed with a warning and fatherly advice. Judges, however, are

apt to take too seriously the effect of their advice, and little talks. The judge who admonishes too frequently, and releases serious or re-current cases soon makes himself and his court ridiculous.

Probation is the most constructive method of treating the delinquent. It not only punishes and disciplines, but also contributes materially to the welfare of the child. It seeks to diagnose his weaknesses and deficiencies and to strengthen the weaknesses, and supply the deficiencies by friendly ministration and by utilizing the religious, moral, educational and social forces available.

When probation fails or is unwise, the recourse is committment to a correctional institution. Unfortunately such confinement seems still to carry a stigma. Possibly, it is the survival in the public mind of the old concepts of criminal conviction and imprisonment. When Children's Courts are placed in chancery courts under civil procedure, and it is generally understood that the processes have no taint of criminality, the order of committment to a correctional school may carry no more disgrace than the committment to an orphan asylum.

The Truant Child.

The truant may or may not be delinquent. Habitual truancy in some states is included in the definitions of delinquency. Truancy, however, is a separate problem. The truant aside from his weakness or "wanderlust" is often not a bad boy or girl. The responsibility for overcoming truancy is, and should be charged to the educational department. The truant child should be brought into the Children's Court only as a last resort.

The teachers who come most often in contact with the truant should be advised and instructed to exhaust their influence, and make special efforts to interest the truant in his work, and hold his school attendance. The principal of the school should study each case of truancy, and exert himself to subdue the truancy and co-operate with and admonish, if necessary, the parents of the child. When the teacher and principal fail, the attendance officers are available. If sufficient and efficient attendance officers are provided by the educational department, backed by their legal authority and the parental school, they will overcome most of the truancy and leave only a residuum for the Children's Court.

When cases of truancy come into the Children's Court, if

the educational department has already done its duty, admonition will be of little use. The disposition of these cases needs a firm hand. In many of them the parents are to blame, and should receive as much or more attention and punishment than the children.

The Neglected and Dependent Child.

No power vested in the Children's Court is more far-reaching and important than the jurisdiction over the neglected and dependent child. It is essentially chancery in nature and origin. The judicial disposition involves the welfare of a life. The subject is often an innocent child, the victim of misfortune, circumstances and environment. Such problems as determining whether children should remain at large or be committed to institutions, whether parents are fit to retain their children, whether the guardianship is proper or improper, daily confront the court.

Semi-public and private children societies and philanthropic and religious organizations are of the greatest service to the court. Their careful investigations, devoted study of problems, securing homes for children, and well-considered recommendations, lift a large part of the burden from the judge. The Children's Court must depend a great deal on these societies, and should work in close harmony with them.

The Defective Child.

Recent investigations are demonstrating that much of the delinquency, truancy and backward condition in children are due to physical and mental defects. The bad results from physical defects are becoming fairly well understood, but the relation of mental defects to the delinquency of the child is not so well known. A vigorous campaign is now being waged in many parts of the country to devise means for testing, treating, and providing institutions for the mentally defective.

These problems are of vital importance to the Children's Court. Often a child's delinquency is cured by the treatment of his eyes, or teeth, or by the removal of adenoids. Sometimes his trouble is due to underfeeding and lack of nourishment. Poor, indeed, is the Children's Court which does not have a physical examination of the children brought before it.

The mental condition of the child is much more difficult

to ascertain. The relation of the impulse to commit a criminal act, or of the degree of inability to resist temptation to the weak mental condition is unknown and unexploited. An examination and diagnosis of the mental state and characteristics of large numbers of delinquent and neglected children will be a study of great value.

The detention home in this respect can be made of much service. A psychopathic clinic should be installed in every detention home. Through the co-operation of the Children's Court, the city department of health and the State Charities Aid Association a psychopathic clinic has recently been established in the Buffalo Detention Home, and its work and reports will be awaited with great interest.

Adult Contributory Delinquency

No Children's Court is equipped to do thorough work unless it possesses jurisdiction over adult contributory delinquency. The correction of the parent or guardian, or other adult responsible for, or contributing to the offence or delinquent condition of the child, either by act or omission, is mixed up inextricably with the treatment of the child. The court before which the child is brought should be empowered to reach out and deal with the responsible adult.

Adult contributory delinquency should be made a crime. The procedure, however, should be liberal and elastic in order to do justice to the numerous cases which spring from poverty or ignorance. Under the adult contributory delinquency law in New York State, the adult can be brought into the Children's Court by summons, and upon adjournments, if in the discretion of the court, the case calls for such treatment, he can be placed on probation or under bonds, and the case finally dismissed without arrest, or conviction.

It is an admitted proposition that most of the delinquencies of children are due to neglect, wrongful acts, or indulgence of parents. Judges claim that from fifty to seventy-five per cent of the offences of children are directly or indirectly attributable to their parents. If such claims be facts, it is self-evident that the child problem can never be successfully treated by the Children's Court unless it has the power to strike at the prevailing influences which are degrading and demoralizing children.

The child should be kept in the home if the home can possibly be made decent. Home training is far preferable to institutional training. The authority of the Children's

Court to open the doors of bad homes, correct the parents, and introduce reformatory and uplifting influences will preserve and improve the home for many a child.

The welfare of the child is the legal and social purpose and ideal of the Children's Court, and in working toward that end the Childrens Court will command the support of all right thinking people, and will be able to summons to its aid all the forces that are best and high and sacred in society.

THE PRESIDENT: We will have to proceed with the program. I am sorry that there has been this disturbance. We owe an apology to Commissioner Wade. The arrangement was all made for the lantern and everything was to be done. When we came here we found no cord and the man connected with the hotel with whom we made the arrangements was nowhere to be found.

Mr. Johnson will now proceed with his lecture. Out at Seattle this gentleman came upon the platform the first evening and for some unaccountable reason the audience kept insisting upon applauding and applauding.

MR. JOHNSON: They know better now.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes they know better now. (Laughter) But somehow it has leaked out that he was no longer to serve as secretary and was going to work in another field. He hadn't said a word but they applauded and applauded and applauded and he began to get red and then white (if you can imagine that) and then red again, and I couldn't see why they kept it up so long because he hadn't said anything and hadn't done anything worthy of mention, but a sort of a congenial happy complacent smile came over his face and he seemed to understand it even if I could not. He may proceed.

A States Program for the Defectives.

Alexander Johnson, Director of Extension Department.

Training School at Vineland, N. J.

Five years ago, arising out of the interest in the care of the defective manifested at the State Conference of Charities of New Jersey, a committee was formed called "Committee on Provision for the Mentally Defective." It consisted of several public spirited people, with a chairman, the distinguished lady from that state who addressed you yesterday, and a representative from each of the different institutions in the State.

In most of the states in the Union something is now being done for defectives, but nowhere is the work approximately complete. There are a good many schools for the children and a very few colonies for adults, but it is probable that only about 15 or 20 per cent of all the feeble-minded and epileptics who really need permanent control and care, are

being properly treated. The purpose of the committee was to outline some plan which would be feasible, and not so costly as to be impossible of realization, by which this most important social work might be undertaken and carried through for the state of New Jersey.

The committee soon found that the first thing it needed was accurate and complete knowledge as to the extent of the problem, and so research was begun in various fields by different bodies. After a very few months that research was found to yield such wonderful results that the state made an appropriation to carry on the work. It did not give a large amount of money, but it was divided among the various institutions doing research work, and it has been carefully used, so that much more has been accomplished than so small an appropriation would usually secure. The State of New Jersey, perhaps, in making this appropriation for research has led the way and several other states have followed. The result is that we have now a little more knowledge about the conditions in New Jersey than is possessed in most other states. We had an idea, for example, before this research was made, that there were about two or three thousand feeble-minded and epileptic persons in that state. Now we know that there are at least six thousand, five hundred and possibly more. That seems a large number yet it is not out of proportion with other states. In New York for instance a recent commission reported about 30,000, and New Jersey is much smaller.

Now we know that certain classes of defectives can be best handled in one way and others in some other way. We believe that the whole class ought to be separated from the body politic; either segregated in large groups, or carefully watched over as individuals, or as small groups. With this belief the following is a very brief outline of the plan:

First those who are known now, and whose condition is quite positive, must be at once taken in hand; especially the children are to be trained. The place to find the children who need special training, at any rate in the largest numbers, is in the public schools and the state has recently adopted a plan by which they can be found. This plan is that in every school district wherein there are ten or more children who are three years or more backward in school, there shall be a special class for backward children. When that class is formed the state gives a subsidy to the amount of \$500 per annum toward the teacher's salary. As this works out it will bring us fully into contact with all the feeble-minded

children that come to school, at any rate in the larger towns, although in some country districts there are not found the necessary ten to secure the state subsidies.

The plan of the Committee is to leave the children, untill the age when they become sexually dangerous, in their own homes, if these are at all fit, letting them receive their training in the special classes in the public schools. Second: when the children reach the age of puberty it is hoped to take them into institutions and give them the best training that they can receive during their period of growth. Finally, when adults, to place them on farm colonies where they shall be kept permanently and employed as far as possible, so that they may earn at least a part of their own support. The Committee feels that the *state* cannot afford to care for all the large number of the defectives in institutions. It also feels that the *people* of the state cannot afford to leave the defectives *without proper care* and control; so it hopes that the permanent care of the adults may be assumed by the counties and that each county, or at any rate most of them, will establish institutions on the colony plan, which may be conducted under some form of state supervision and, possibly, partial state support. The details are not yet worked out in every respect but broadly speaking this is the project.

Now I want to show you a number of these children, beginning with the lowest and going up to the higher type, to tell you something of their heredity, give you some idea of what is to be done with them in the schools, the kind of training they must have and finally the plan by which we hope to handle the adults when they pass the actual training age.

In all dealings with the feeble-minded, and it is of them I shall chiefly speak, the first and most important thing to learn and then always to remember is that, no matter what their physical age, they are always, mentally, children.

Here is a child you all know (Fig. 1.) Everybody knows the typical village idiot, a baby in intellect although perhaps a man in years; occasionally getting angry when he is teased, and doing some disagreeable things, but practically not much harm to anybody.

Here is another of just about the same mentality. A little girl idiot (Fig. 2.) About twenty-five years ago a child very much like this one, was taken into the School for Feeble-Minded at Columbus, Ohio. She came from a county poor house where she had been living in an iron cage, being fed on bread and water through the bars. At the school she



FIG. 1

was taught to feed and dress herself; to behave a little like a human being. In those days each child had to be dismissed at adult age. This child came to 18 years of age and was returned to the poor house from whence she came. Neglected and abused she rapidly deteriorated, and two years later she was back in the same old cage; *but meanwhile she had given birth to a child.* Things have changed and in Ohio and nearly every other state, when the defective once has the good luck to get into the state institution he stays there all his life.

Here is another girl about the same mentality—about 2 years old by the Binet scale. Rather more dangerous than the one I have shown you but still of the idiot type (Fig. 3.)



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

Here is another interesting type (Fig. 4.). This is a case of premature senility. He is only 34 years old yet he will probably soon die of old age. He was a pretty good worker but he has grown out of it; he is going down rapidly. Perhaps it is not altogether to be regretted that the life time of a defective is very much shorter than that of the normal.

About the Binet scale you have heard so much that I am not going to talk about it except just to say that it has given to us something which is quite useful, i. e. a scientific method of classification of the different kinds of defectives. We now divide them into idiots, imbeciles and morons. The morons test, by the Binet, between 8 and 12 years of age. The imbeciles between 4 and 8, and the idiots below 4. This does not mean, however, that a defective who tests six years mentally cannot do a great deal more than a normal child of six years. You must remember that the normal child of six is only that age for one year, while the defective who is mentally six may remain, and usually does remain, in the six year old class for many years, during which he has time to learn a great deal of work and other things that the six year old normal child can't begin to do.



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

Here is another girl (Fig. 5) who has developed physically in the institution but is about the same mental age as five years ago. She is one of the useful workers, quiet, industrious and willing but she needs the protecting care of the institution which we hope she will always have.

Here is a difficult and trying case (Fig. 6.). This girl was placed in an orphan asylum and was taken out into homes several times, always coming back after a week or two; said to be incorrigible. She did pretty well in school until the fourth or fifth grade and nobody could understand why she



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

was such a terrible child; but when she was carefully tested it was found she was feeble-minded. People were asking impossible things from her. Now, in the institution, where no child is asked to do more than he or she can, she gets along fairly well.

Here is a very interesting boy (Fig. 7.) The picture does not do him justice. You should see him when he is smiling as he usually is. This boy has been in the Institution about ten years. Six or seven years ago he developed pyromania. He set fire to various things, among others a hay stack, because he loved to see the flames. The superintendent thought there must be some place for this boy where his tendency to burn might be useful instead of hurtful. He was strong and robust so he was made assistant fireman in the boiler-house. He was taught to feed the fire, and now he worships it. If he gets a stick of candy he will eat half and feed the rest to the fire. At Christmas time he had a bag of nuts, half of which he gave to the fire. In his early days as stoker he was taken out and shown that a great



FIG. 8

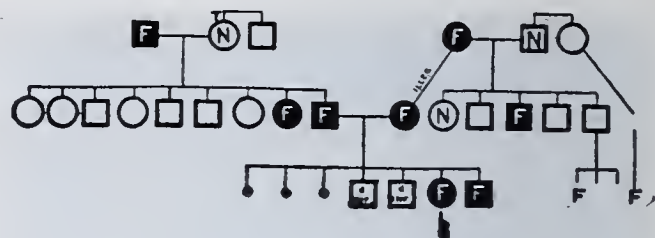


FIG. 9



MENTALLY 9 YRS.

FIG. 10

cloud of smoke from the stack meant that the fire had too much food in one place and could not eat it so made it into smoke, so he learned how to spread the fuel in a thin sheet over the red coals, so that the fire might be able to eat up all its food. Out in the world he would be a dangerous fire bug but in the institution he is a useful stoker.

Here is one of the happiest fellows we have in the institution. He is kind, gentle and industrious and a good tailor. As he is strong he does all the pressing. He is always ready, willing and cheerful. He is quite self-supporting; he is one of a group of ten boys having been in the institution a good many years have developed so that they are doing work which pays for their support. The Board of Trustees have classed them as self-supporting and no longer receive pay for them from the State.

(The speaker now showed a number of group pictures of lower, middle and upper grade classes which unfortunately cannot be reproduced in this report.)

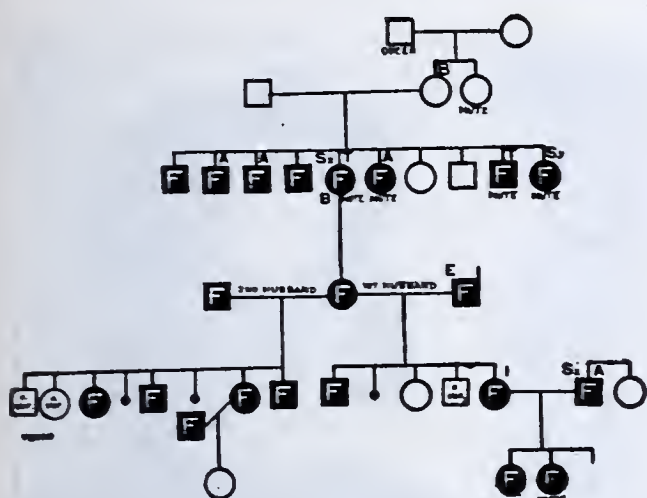


FIG. 11

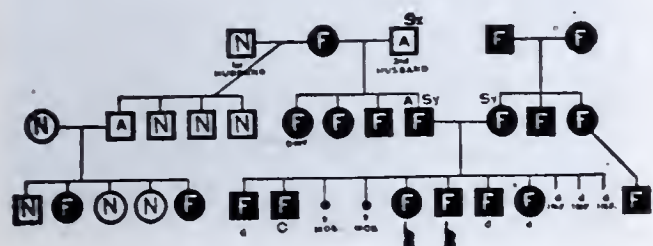


FIG. 13



FIG 12

We have several of the mongol type, so called. They get the name from a fancied resemblance to the Mongol race. These are usually not dangerous socially. Frequently they are the last child of a large family; seldom strong; rarely living to be more than 20 or 25 years old.

Among the higher grades of morons we have a boy who is a good worker; makes beds and sweeps the floor. He is a natural born dandy and must have nice cloths. If his clothes are shabby he tears them up. However we do not consider a fondness for nice clothes to be in all cases a positive proof of feeble-mindedness.

Here (Fig. 8.) is a little ataxic boy. He cannot move hand or foot but he enjoys the school very much and is taken there in his wheel chair. The other boys in his cottage organize the care of this boy. Everyone wants to be his care-taker and they take turns in carrying him into the school room and carrying him back. Having something of that kind to do for a little child is a great pleasure to the ordinary imbecile.

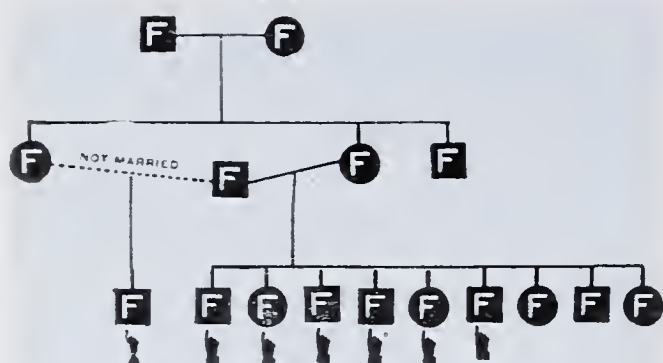


FIG 14



FIG 16

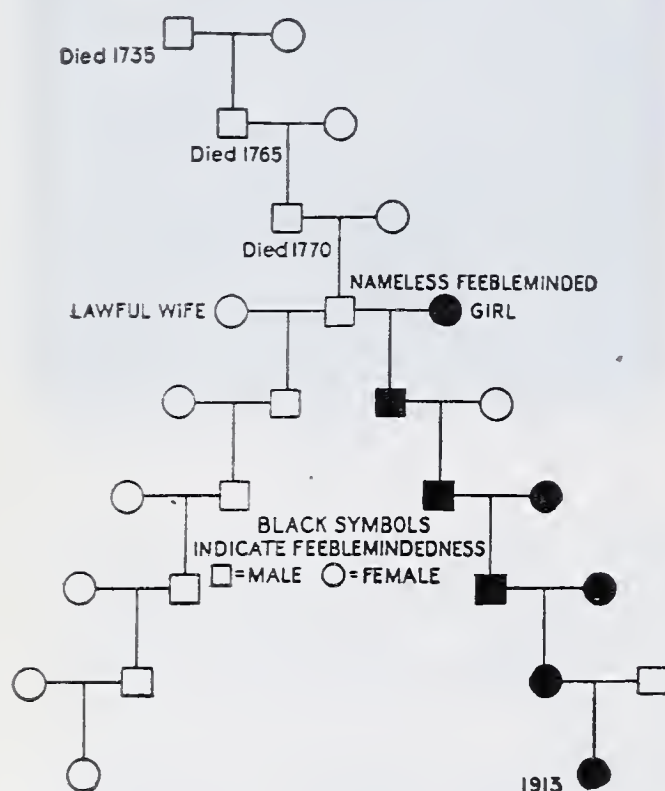


FIG. 15

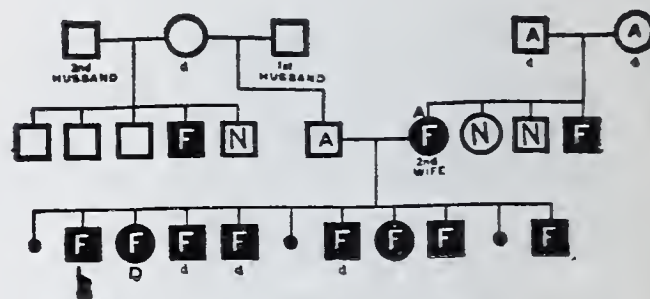
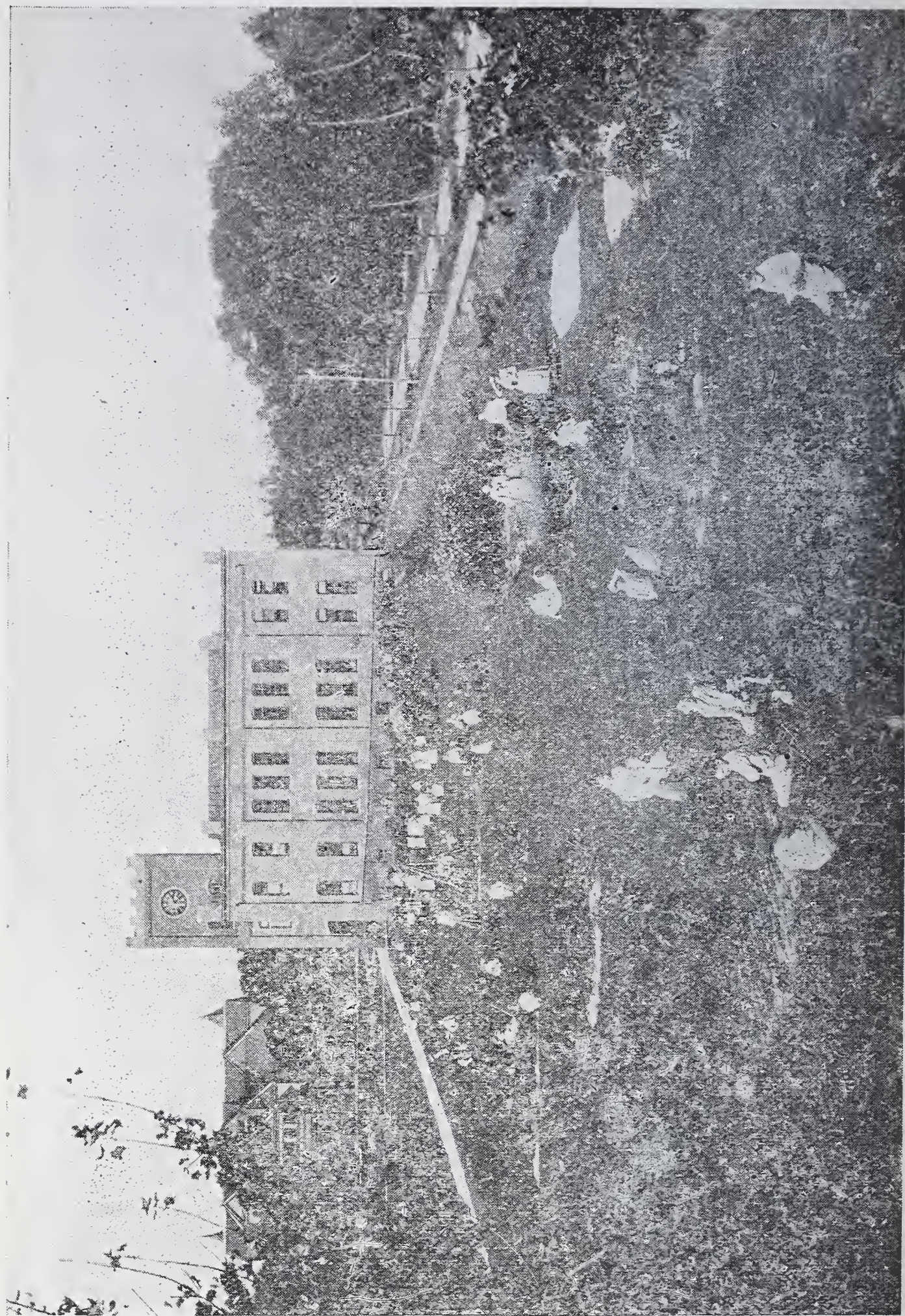


FIG. 17

Now here is a pedigree (Fig. 9.) Circles signify females, squares, males; "F" feeble-minded and "N" is normal. The circle marked with a hand pointing, is the child that the pedigree begins with. In our pedigrees we have to begin with the last member, so we start at the child in the institution and go back as far as we can. We have here three generations indicating the heredity of feeble-mindedness. The mother is the illegitimate daughter of a feeble-minded woman who afterwards was married to a normal man by whom she had five children, one of whom we know to be normal, one feeble-minded and about the others we are not



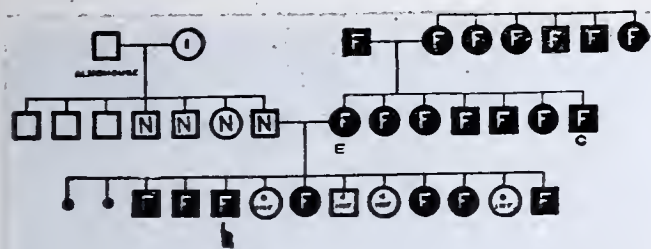


FIG 18



FIG. 19



FIG. 21

certain. When you see a blank in a pedigree chart it means that we have no certain knowledge as to the mental condition. This illegitimate daughter of the feeble-minded woman, very naturally married a feeble-minded man. He was one of a large family of children of a feeble-minded man by a normal woman. Of the uncles and aunts of our girl there are six we know nothing about except their sex, but we know that one aunt was feeble-minded. In the immediate family you will see the chart shows three small black circles which represent miscarriages, two children who died in infancy and the girl and one brother feeble-minded. Here is the girl



FIG. 22



FIG. 23

(Fig 10.) who is now about 28 and looks like 35. She is never quite happy except when washing clothes, as she is not competent to wash fine garments, enough common clothing is kept out of the machine to keep her busy four or five days of the week.

Here is one of the worst family histories we have (Fig. 11) There are six generations represented. The girl with a feeble-minded and mute sister are the off spring of the marriage of a feeble-minded alcoholic and immoral man with a feeble-minded woman. The mother had one feeble-minded brother but we know nothing of the relatives of the father. The mother was the child of a feeble-minded man who was also epileptic. Her mother, the grand-mother of our girl was married twice, each time to a feeble minded man, and all her children or nearly all were feeble minded. Her mother that is the girl's great grand mother, came of a family notorious for feeble mindedness, alcoholism and muteness as well as other things. The girl's great, great, grand-mother was blind and her great, great, great, grand-father was reported

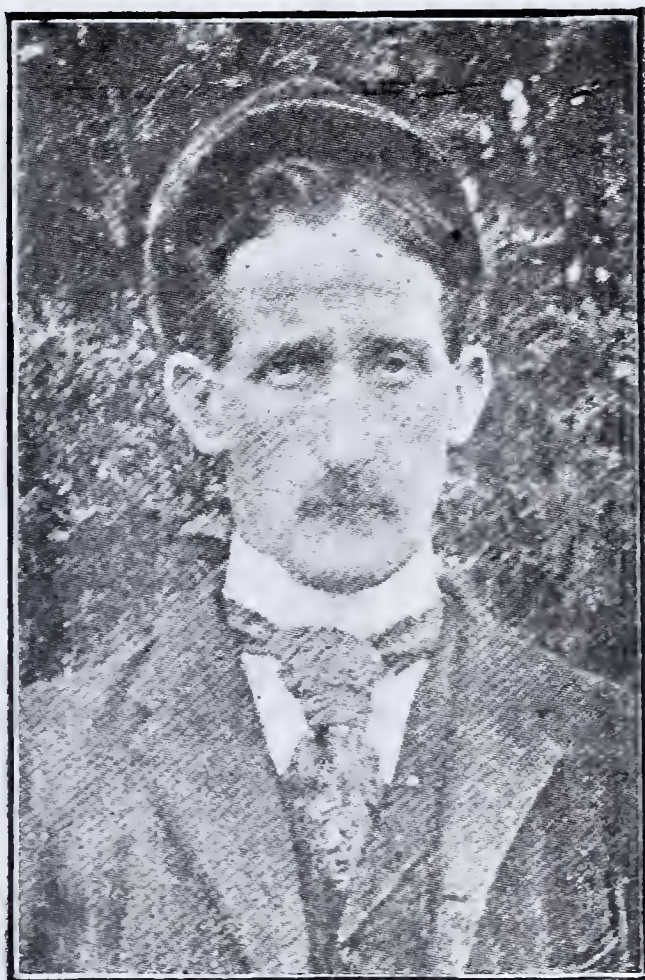


FIG. 24

as "queer." With such ancestry how could the girl fail to be feeble-minded? Here is the girl (Fig. 12) a quiet, gentle and affectionate creature, very fond of children, a typical little mother; she has been the care taker of several of them, dressing, bathing and feeding them; a very useful member of the institution. If she had not such a dreadful heredity and if it were not certain that her children should she have any, would be feeble-minded, I should say that she might go out into the world; but here she is happy, useful and in safety.

Here is another family (Fig. 13.) This shows the descendants of a feeble-minded woman who was twice married. Her first husband was normal and she had four normal children, although one of them is alcoholic. This alcoholic son married a normal woman and produced two feeble-minded and three normal children, this is an instance of the defect skipping a generation, being transmitted by the grandmother through the father. The second marriage of this feeble-minded woman was with a man of normal mind but

who was alcoholic and immoral. The result was four feeble-minded children. One of these became alcoholic and syphilitic and married a feeble-minded woman. She was one of three imbecile children born of imbecile parents. The result here could, of course, be nothing but defectives. There were two still born and three that died in infancy. Six others lived to be determined feeble-minded; one of these is a criminal, two are in the institution at Vineland. The mother's sister also has a feeble-minded son.

Here is the most typical family that we have on our records (Fig. 14.) About sixty years ago a feeble-minded man married a feeble-minded woman. They had three feeble-minded children—two daughters and a son. When the first girl was old enough, she was seduced by a feeble-minded man and she had a feeble-minded child. Then this same fellow married the second sister, and by her he had this straight family of imbeciles, nine of them. The seven marked on the chart are now, or were a short time ago, inmates of the State Institution for Feeble-Minded at Columbus, Ohio. They are costing the State of Ohio something between \$1200. and \$1500. a year and will do so I suppose for a number of years to come.

Here (Fig. 15) is a brief outline of the celebrated Kallikak family. In this case a revolutionary soldier met a feeble-minded girl and became the father of a feeble-minded son who was the progenitor of a long line of defectives. After the war he came home, settled down and married a good woman and by her he started a respectable family which also has come down to the present. We have the record of 496 descendants on the good side and 480 on the other. On the one side all have been honest, industrious peoples not wealthy but nearly all fairly well to do, at any rates self-supporting; only two cases of alcoholism known, and very little sexual irregularity. On the other side a continuous series of feeble-mindedness, immorality, alcoholism and petty crime until we come down to the girl in the institution (Fig. 16) This is probably the most remarkable example of the good and bad in one family, presenting almost as striking a contrast as the well known one between the Edwards family, in Massachusetts and the so-called, Jukes family, in New York.

Here (Fig. 17.) is another instructive chart. The child in the institution is one of a family of eight, all of whom are feeble-minded. The mother, who is feeble-minded and alcoholic, was the second wife of the father who was normal minded but alcoholic. The mother's parents were both known as

alcoholics. The father in this case had a congenital defect in the number of joints in his fingers. By his first wife he had a family which is not on this chart, she was a normal woman and all the children were apparently normal, none of them inheriting the peculiar defect in the fingers. But in his family by his feeble-minded second wife, every one of the children show either defective fingers or toes, and one of them is also deaf. This chart is instructive in showing what may be the beginning of a feeble-minded line of descendants. We are compelled to believe that defectiveness had a beginning somewhere. We cannot believe that it has been transmitted since the days of Adam and Eve, although Eve's celebrated interview with the snake might suggest that possibility.

Here is another chart (Fig.18.) which again shows the strength of the feeble-minded tendency. Here is a normal man from a family of normals, although his mother became insane later in life; he is married to a feeble-minded epileptic woman of a family in which the defective trait is very strong. The result is eleven children of whom four died in infancy and seven lived to be feeble-minded. The boy in the institution, the one to whom the hand points, is normal in appearance, altho he tests eight years mental age. With such a heredity, who can question that he should be saved from continuing the strain?

Now you will be ready to ask, how do we determine the fact of feeble-mindedness. Of course a large proportion of the defectives show their condition very plainly, but these are not the most dangerous classes. Many, as you have seen by the pictures, I have shown you, are quite agreeable looking people and would pass muster very well in the outside world. Undoubtedly the most valuable tests we have is the one of which you have recently heard so much, namely the Binet Measuring Scale of Intelligence. But we use many other tests.

Here (Fig.19.) is one of the first tests devised by the great Seguin, the first successful teacher of the defective. It consists of a number of forms which fit into depressions in a block of wood. The child is given the forms and told to fit them into the depressions. A normal child of five or six can place them in a few seconds. Some of the abnormals can never accomplish this simple task. (The speaker then described a number of other tests for muscular control, physical stability, mechanical memory tests, and others.)

In addition to all the tests which have been devised, the most important of all is observation of the child in school, at

home and at play. Many of the tests are devised as a method of child study and as a guide to the education and training to be adopted.

The central feature of an institution for the defective must always be the school.

Here (Fig. 20.) is a picture of the school house and the school gardens at Vineland. Each group of children has a garden of its own in which they may cultivate what they will. One of my girls chose peas, parsnips and pansies. Occasionally they chose pumpkins but most of them prefer melons. They delight to put the seed in the ground and watch the things grow, and no boy could have a greater triumph than to grow a good, ripe melon and take it to the superintendent as a specimen of his crop. (The speaker then described the various classes of school, physical culture, kindergarten, basketry, wood-working and a variety of things showing pictures of the classes and of the products.)

Here is a picture of a chair (Fig. 21.) in which I occasionally sit in my office. This was made by a low grade feeble-minded boy. When he went to school he could hardly articulate. He was put into the wood-working class for a while, made no progress. At that time we had a highly scientific teacher of wood carving and the children were taught to use a chisel, first making a straight line and then a curved line, and were kept at the lines until they could make them perfectly. This method didn't appeal to our boy and he made no progress. One day he brought to the teacher a little toy representing a rabbit and asked the teacher by signs, for he could hardly speak, to be allowed to copy it. The teacher marked out the outline on a piece of thin wood and presently he had cut out a rabbit that almost anybody could distinguish from a donkey. That was his beginning and he went on until now he is quite a good cabinet maker, but this is about the only thing in which he excels.

In the school they are trained for usefulness. The three R's have little place in the school for the feeble-minded. What they learn to say they soon forget, but what they learn to do they often remember. (The speaker then described the different classes of employment used around the institution showing pictures of the laundry, the sewing room, the tailor shop, the cobbling shop and several pictures illustrating farm work of different kinds.

Here (Figs, 22 and 23) are two cuts, illustrating one of the most interesting occupations of the older girls, namely, the care of the little children. We take advantage for their

own benefit, of the maternal instinct which is so strong in them, and not only make them useful but make them very happy, by letting them do the work of the "little mother."

Here (Fig. 24) is a very interesting boy whose maternal instinct is highly developed. Besides other useful work he took care of two little boys. One day he came to the superintendent and said, "I want to leave here; I want to make my own living." The superintendent said, "John, don't you know you are earning your living here?" Then he was told that he was one of the boys who were so useful that they were no longer paid for by the state and then the superintendent added and more than that "John, you not only earn your own living but part of the living of Willie" one of the boys whom he cared for." As soon as he heard that he was perfectly satisfied and said, "I am going to stay here forever."

A series of pictures were then shown illustrating the various amusements and entertainments which are just as much a part of the regular business of the school as is the school instruction. The secret of content in the institution is that there must always be in the near future some event of joy to look forward to. Among the specially joyous events are the birthday parties which occur monthly, every child who has a birthday during the month being privileged to attend and invite one friend. When we conceived the idea of birthday parties we found that a great many of the children didn't know when their birthdays were, nor had we any records to show them, so they were allotted each a birthday. This was quite convenient because we wanted to have approximately the same number of birthdays each month. Now when you are giving a boy a birthday, it might as well be a good one, so some of them, especially those whose names happened to be George, were allotted to the 22nd of February, others to the 12th. One of them had Christopher Columbus's birthday allotted him, five or six had the 2nd. of January, which happened to be the birthday of the superintendent. Dickens, Longfellow, Bryant and other distinguished men and women are remembered.

Now I come to what is perhaps the most interesting part of my story. It is not enough that we teach and care for the defectives while they are children, the care must be a permanent one and must last for life. Just as the child in the normal school is, or should be, fitted for active life in the outside world, so the children in our school must be fitted for their future life in the little world of the institution or the colony,

and after they are so fitted then comes the effort to find some useful employment in which they may earn at least some of their own support.

We have come to the conclusion that one of the very best kinds of work for the feeble-minded, especially the boys, is to clear and subdue waste land. The school has recently purchased a piece of rough land of about 500 acres which cost \$10 per acre. It is land that can be made valuable. With any kind of crop on it it would bring \$100 per acre. Planted in peach trees it would bring from \$200 to \$500 an acre. We have established a colony upon this piece of land. It is just beginning to show what can be done. The first thing is to build economical houses and we are putting up one story buildings, some of frame to begin with, but we are now building with cement blocks which are made on the premises. We have plenty of fine sand and gravel and the boys are learning the business of block making. Two boys with one machine turn out from 55 to 60 blocks a day, which is about half as many as two paid employes would make.

Most of the work for the next two years will be clearing and stumping the land but we already have a few acres under cultivation and we hope to show some good results. As I said the buildings we shall use will be very economical. We think we can house and furnish on the colony for about \$200 per capita. This is only one fifth of the average cost of public institutions in our state. We hope to establish a colony which will be a sort of demonstration station for the whole state, and possibly for other states, but we are feeling our way, making experiments at a cheap rate, learning how to do the best work by doing it.

We have the example of the Templeton Colony in Massachusetts where there are 350 defectives employed in clearing and farming. We hope to popularize the colony plan, thru our Extension Department, all over the country because we believe that what has been done at Templeton for a few hundred, might be done everywhere else, not only for a few hundred but for thousands. As soon as this plan shall be extensively copied and every state in the Union has adopted it; not only the training schools for defective children but the industrial colonies for the adults; we shall be at the beginning of supplying that most important of all the present social needs, namely, the complete care and control of all the defectives.

DISCUSSION

DR. HART: I want to ask Mr. Johnson how with this temporary plant of yours, how are you solving the matter of sanitation; that is, the matter of the sewage, the bathing, the taking care of flies and mosquitoes?

MR. JOHNSON: When you are in the country you don't need the elaborate sewage disposal that you do in the cities. The waste material is very easily disposed of. We have good bathing arrangements for the boys and wash places, etc., and for the ordinary toilets we use what the farmers in the neighborhood use, the common outdoor privy, which is perfectly satisfactory. The possibility of doing it on this plan is that we don't have to have all those refinements necessary when you bring a vast number of people together.

COMMISSIONER WADE: How many attendants do you have?

MR. JOHNSON: At present we have fifteen boys and then the head man.

MR. PENN: How long will those houses last?

MR. JOHNSON: They are going to last one or two movings. We are expecting to move those houses two or more times. We expect the administration building will be the farmhouse when we sell that land. There will probably be twenty or more farms. We are in a country of small farms. You will find all around us probably forty or fifty farmers who have about ten acres of that land and they get very nice productive crops of sweet potatoes, peaches, etc.

DR. HART: This forestry land you are going to handle, are you going to own that?

MR. JOHNSON: We don't know how that is going to come out. We are feeling our way along there, I think it has got to be the State's land. We don't know exactly how the Burlington colony will be equipped, but all we are sure about is this piece. We can sell this piece or give it away. There are a lot of details to be worked out. We have changed our plans now half a dozen times.

COMMISSIONER WADE: What is the per capita support?

MR. JOHNSON: We don't know that either. We get \$300 a year each for these children.

MR. PENN. I was wondering if those boys ever attempt to escape.

MR. JOHNSON: Very seldom. That boy I showed you has run away twice and came back twice a short time after going away. When he first went away he was gone about a week and then he stayed about six or eight months, and the next time he was gone two days. But you know the children always want to do what the natural instinct of human nature is, to do that which you are forbidden to do. A certain boy told that he was going to run away—this was in Indiana. I was told that he was going to run away on Saturday night, so I called him to me and said, "How long since you went home?" "It is just a year and a half." "Now, tomorrow morning, you put on your Sunday clothes and spend the day with your family and I will give you a note to the keeper of the greenhouse

and he will give you a bouquet." That boy nearly wilted. The next morning he got his half dozen carnations and had a pleasant visit with his folks and got back in time for supper.

THE PRESIDENT: Any other questions? If not, Mr. Alexander Johnson of New Jersey having completed his lecture, the meeting is adjourned. There will be no meeting tonight, but tomorrow morning there is a meeting of especial interest to institution people and the much discussed mother's pensions will be taken up. We are adjourned.

End of Fifth Session.

Sixth Session.

Thursday morning, August 28.

PRESIDING: Hon George S. Addams.

PRESIDENT: Dr. Wolfenstein will lead the discussion this morning on the Relations of Institutional Workers to Their Wards.

DR. S. WOLFENSTEIN, SUPERINTENDENT, JEWISH ORPHAN ASYLUM, CLEVELAND, OHIO:

Judge Addams in opening the meeting last Tuesday made the remark that the audience was rather small, but it was choice, being smaller today, I guess it is more choice. I am told that we have to vacate this hall at 11.30 this morning so we have no time to lose. The subject to be discussed is the Relation of Institutional Workers to their Wards. The first speaker will be Mr. Charles H. Johnson, superintendent of the Albany Orphan Asylum of Albany, N. Y.

MR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON, Albany: I suppose a round table means a general discussion, so what is to be said by the speaker will be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

The Relations of the Worker to his Wards.

By Mr. Charles H. Johnson

Superintendent of the Albany Orphan Asylum, of Albany, N.Y.

A suitable sub-title to this discussion would be the "The spirit of the Institution," for the relation of the worker to his wards will to a very large extent decide what the spirit of the institution shall be. The spirit of the institution, is quite distinct and different from its material form. The latter may be elaborate and magnificently equipped while at the same time the former may be very poor and meagre, or it may be the reverse. Perhaps we can all recall instances of institutions that at one time had a very meagre equipment and very insignificant material form, but in which there dwelt a spirit of the finest quality, and results were correspondingly gratifying. As time went on, however, the institution became equipped with all that was necessary in the way of material possessions, but the splendid spirit did not remain, because the new workers who perhaps replaced the old did not possess that spirit of self-sacrifice and enthusiasm which characterized the earlier days of the institution.

The very first step of the superintendent who desires to produce beneficent results must be to create the proper spirit in his institution and this will be dependent on the relation of the workers towards their wards. It is always this spirit that giveth life to an institution and the ideal of the institution must be that hygienic ideal of a good spirit in a good boy. Without the proper spirit the institution may be only a magnificent pile of brick and mortar.

1. The relation of the worker to his wards will be somewhat determined by the nature and the object of the institution. Every institution should have an ideal or objective for its work. It was created for some specific purpose and is being maintained with some definite end in view.

If the institution is one for the care of defective children then the relation of the worker should be that of the nurse or caretaker, in the best sense of those words. It becomes the worker's principal task to supply the physical or mental wants of the helpless wards. The workers here are eyes for the blind, ears for the deaf and in short become the media through which the defectives are to come into contact with the outside world. In all the realm of children's work there is no field that requires so great an outpouring of sympathy and compassion, so great an amount of self sacrifice and holy enthusiasm as the work with mentally or physically defective children.

If the institution is one for the care of delinquent children, the relation of the workers is to provide an atmosphere and environment which will make it possible to reform that which has been deformed. His task is to be the moulder who reheives the scrap and rough material and through the subtle influence of character upon character remake the material into useful form.

If the institution is one for the care of destitute, homeless or dependent children, the relation of the worker is primarily that of the home maker. The child having been deprived, through no delinquency of its own, of its heritage of home surroundings or parental care is to be supplied by the institution with these necessary elements for making of a happy childhood.

11. The relation of workers to his wards will be largely determined by the attitude of the worker to his job.

The efficient worker in an institution is one who has a real sense of the responsibility of his position, this will be aroused if the worker will consider the importance of his work; that what he does and says influences to a large extent the future welfare of living beings; that he is dealing with life, and with it in its formative period; that he has the opportunity to bless or blight, to put upon plastic character a stamp which may be indelible and be influential for good or evil not only to one individual but to many lives, communities and even future generations; that his work is one accompanied with many difficult problems, work that requires at times almost superhuman wisdom, infinite patience and wonderful tact. The worker who realizes that he is not a mere day laborer but that he is touching for good or bad those who cannot help themselves, those who have come into the world with the curse of defective ancestry, those few years have been passed amid debasing surroundings, with none of the love and care of father or mother to elevate and inspire, those in short who are beginning life at a terrible disadvantage morally, mentally or physically. If the worker realizes these things his relations to his ward will be what it ought to be. For lack of ideals, for lack of perspective, for lack of that broad horizon which not only includes the present but also the past and the future, for the lack of all these on the part of the worker, the ward may perish.

It is not necessary to state in the presence of so many institution superintendents that the great difficulty in institution work is not so much with our wards as with our workers. The greatest task of the institution superintendent is to se-

cure associates who will share his ideals and who will labor in harmony with him. For while the superintendent, as the head of the institution, must strike the keynote, if his associates do not attune themselves to that note, the discord that will follow will necessarily destroy the sweetness of his note. The subordinate worker is in constant contact with the wards. In the shop, school room, cottage or other parts of the institution the touch of the superintendent can only be occasional while that of his subordinates is constant. All the attempts of the superintendent to lift his work up to a high plane of efficiency will be neutralized by the demoralizing influence of inefficient, time-serving helpers. Of what avail are the assemblies, the talks, the prayers, the ethical and religious exercises which are held at stated intervals if the continuous influence of the men and women who live with the children is debasing. If there is then to be the right relation between the worker and his wards we must try to secure the right kind of workers. Heaven knows they are hard to get. But it is practically impossible to get them if the workers are to be secured by political means, as rewards for some political stunts they have performed, if they consist of men and women superannuated in years, business bankrupts, life's misfits who are in institution work simply for its shelter and care. To secure workers who will retain the right relation to their wards suitable compensation must be given. High grade goods cannot be easily secured here with low grade prices. To secure such workers there should also be the provision of such creature comforts as will make it possible for good men or women to maintain their self-respect and to return from their leisure to their task with renewed vigor. While we think of the difficulty in getting efficient and conscientious workers, it would be unfitting to leave this subject without a word of praise or commendation of the noble men and women who have served loyally and filled faithfully trying positions in institution work. Every superintendent knows of them and while it may be that these our subordinates or associates in our institutions seldom are heralded in the public press, or praise given to them from the public platforms, we all know that the patience, the faithfulness, the constant enthusiasm of many of them have made our own success possible and must some day receive its rich reward. They may be unknown to the worldly fame, but they are well known to the Great Guardian of the children, the Judge of all the Earth and He will honor them as they richly deserve.

We may sum up this phase of the subject in the words of superintendent Fairbanks; and his words apply to all members of institutions and to boys as well as to girls: "The reformation of girls can only be accomplished by having in charge of our reformatories for girls such officers and only such, from the superintendent to the lowest, as are thoroughly imbued with a hearty desire to accomplish the object for which such institutions are established, with a firm, abiding faith that it is entirely possible that these children of unfortunate birth, or evil environment neglected, deserted or willfully disobedient, may and can be saved to true, virtuous, noble womanhood, persons whose hearts beat in sympathy with the great heart of the master, whose spirits are touched with fire from the altar of self sacrifice, whose love is a reflection of the divine, whose purpose, whose anxious solicitude is to be a means of salvation to all who are placed in their charge." Having secured such workers the question of relationship will settle itself.

3. The relation of the workers to his wards may however in general terms be stated negatively as follows:

1. It is not that of the officer and inmate. These terms are sometimes used in institutions and may perhaps be characteristic of the relationship that exists. The connotation of "officer," however is that of an individual with a blue suit, brass buttons, and holding a stick in his hand. The connotation of the word "inmate" is that of a helpless, hopeless, individual whose identity is completely effaced. Both words have a prison flavor or odor and in these days when children's institutions are no longer penal institutions but schools and homes they and especially the relations they represent should be obsolete.

2. It is not the relation of master and servant nor mistress and maid. Children are usually eager to do things and it is a good part of their training that they be taught the value of social service of any kind. It is possible, however, in institutions that the power of the worker and the helplessness of the ward may make of a boy the worker's valet and of the girl a ladies maid. One may often hear from children who have grown out of institutions stories of how they spent most of their time running and fetching for some subordinate worker in the institution. Our wards have not been placed with us to become our little slaves. They are with us for a more noble and glorious purpose. The worker is not created to exploit the ward but is to be the conservor of its best interests.

3. It is not the relation of saint and sinner. If any-

thing galls a growing boy and girl it is to have some grown up person constantly holding themselves up as paragons of perfection, constantly telling of their own immaculate and wonderfully perfect childhood and either in words or by innuendo drawing comparisons that are decidedly odious. The relation should not be that of nagger. God have mercy on the ward that is in the care of a nagging worker. It makes whatever good he may have in him shrivel up with disgust. No one is quicker to perceive the superficialness of mere words on the part of the worker than the child. It can pierce with wonderful intuition the bubble of self conceit, of smug hypocrisy, of superficial goodness, which their elders sometimes give to them. Sit down with the boys sometimes, and when you have gained their confidence you will hear wonderfully funny stories about their goody goody elders. The children have not been fooled at all, not even a little bit.

4. The relation of the worker to his wards may be stated in general terms positively as follows: Its elements are:

1. Friendship. Some one has defined a friend as one who knows all about us and still loves us. In the institution the worker may know all about the ward and should still be his friend. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the value, the inspiration, the inestimable benefit that springs from a good friend. It is only necessary to say that it is the institution worker's privilege to become a friend, in all that that wonderful word suggests, to many who need just that one relationship to bless and brighten their whole existence.

2. Guidance. Life which lies before our wards is full of pitfalls, the path is new to them, but not to the worker. He knows some of its dangers and some of its bright spots. He has golden opportunities to advise, to counsel, to point out the path of right and wrong, to suggest the good and to warn against evil. We all can recall the cases of boys who have said in after years that the counsel they received from some worker in the institution was of incalculable value to them. They may not all take the counsel or guidance, but they have at least the opportunity of seeing the light as we present it to men.

3. Leadership. The good shepherd goeth before his sheep. The relationship between the worker and his ward is not that of the driver, but that of the leader. The sheep hear his voice and follow him and he knows them by name, not by number; he knows their weakness, when they need to be carried and when they need reprimand. In other words, the good worker like the Good Shepherd loves his sheep, he

plans, and labors for their welfare and asks them to do nothing that he will not do himself. He knows that his wards are perhaps learning more by imitation of him than by precept, and that where he is going some one may follow in his footsteps. It therefore behooves him to see that his steps lead in the right direction.

Finally, the workers in an institution include every one from the superintendent down to the least paid employee. The superintendent is expected to be the most active of them all. In reading the house rules of a certain institution it was interesting to note that for the different workers certain hours were prescribed when they were off duty. When it came to the superintendent it stated that he was always on duty. He must be the pace maker in all things. And he preeminently should be the model in his relation to his wards. He should be a man with a big heart and a clear head, for as superintendent Wentworth said some years ago "From the superintendent radiates constantly an influence good or bad, warming or lighting, chilling or blasting the moral nature of all within the sphere of his influence." His relation to his wards should be that of a father. Every one of his wards should feel that they may have access to the Superintendent. He should be a man of large sympathies, but also a man of selfcontrol and poise. He should not be a little tin God, access to whose august presence is only possible to a certain favored few and upon whose sacred countenance, the wards may only occasionally and from a distance; for instance at assembly or chapel—gaze with awe and reverence. Every child should know that no barrier, material, social or mental can prevent him from opening his heart and bringing sorrows to his superintendent. If everybody is too busy, and no one else understands him, the Superintendent, who should be the Great Heart of the institution knows and sympathizes with him. Of course we all know that this relationship may be capable of abuse, but the level headed superintendent will see to it that the abuses are not too serious or not too many. Better, however, the abuse than the nonuse, better to hear to hear too many tales of woe, some of which may be imaginary, than that some helpless one with real sorrow in his little heart should be excluded. In other words the institution exists for the children, the workers are there for their wards and not the wards for the workers, and not the children for the institution. As workers with children in institutions the relationship between workers and wards is not mechanical nor official but intensely human. Ours is a gold-

en and most wonderful opportunity. While we recognize our own limitations we can now decide to live up to the best that is in us. We may say with Helen Hunt Jackson:

If I can live
To make some pale face brighter, and to give
A second luster to some tear dimmed eye,
Or e'er impart
One throb of comfort to an aching heart
Or cheer some way worn soul in passing by;
If I can lend
A strong hand to the fallen, or defend
The right against a single envious strain,
My life, though bare
Perhaps of much that seemeth dear and fair
To us on earth, will not have been in vain.
The purest joy,
Most near to heaven, far from earths alloy,
Is bidding clouds give way to sun and shine
And 'twill be well
If on that day of days the angels tell
of me "She did her best for one of thine."

DR. WOLFENSTEIN: The next speaker will be Mr. Laird, Superintendent of the Cleveland Boys' Home at Hudson, Ohio, belonging to the city of Cleveland.

MR. LAIRD, HUDSON, O. Mr. Chairman: After the excellent paper that we have just listened to I think it better to leave my own paper in my pocket. It is not quite so comprehensive at any rate and so many of the things I had enclosed therein would be just a re-statement and not so well stated as what you have just heard that I shall omit practically all of it and speak in a very simple, informal way about some of the suggestions we have just had and possibly a few others that may be of help to us.

One thing that we need to bear in mind, first of all, in the selection of the institutional worker is the fact that he has a dual responsibility; he must not only take the place of the parent in those natural relations that we expect of the ordinary parent, but he must also be able to assume a professional attitude toward the ward that will enable him to act as an expert parent. If the worker is not such to begin with we should at once try to develop him into such specialist. To be efficient he does not necessarily have to produce a Ph. D. degree, resulting from years of study along the lines of psychology and pedagogy, but he does need to have a large ex-

perience, a broader outlook and more complete ideals than we expect of the ordinary parents of our wards. These parents are too often over-burdened with their daily tasks, using up all their energy in the hardest kind of toil for long hours each day, in order to eke out a bare existence for the usual large family. Is it any wonder that they grow nervous and irritable and make their home life anything but a joy for the children, who are thus driven to the street for their enjoyment and thence into the paths of delinquency? Or, too frequently, one parent or both may dissipate their earnings or desert their home and children in some other way, leaving their children an example that is naturally followed until beneficent friends or the law steps in to check these downward tendencies. Or again, illness, parental separation or death may require a foster parentage to care for the defenseless children. Whatever the cause the situation compels society to provide something special in the care of these unfortunates which is better than hereceived at home, or else we ought not to be entrusted with him. By better care I do not, of course, mean, merely better clothes, better food and more of it, better sanitation, but especially a better atmosphere for developing character and wiser treatment in every possible way.

The preceding speaker has well emphasized that we need to realize that the child is not merely an inmate, that he is not a subservient; but that he has a personality, a soul, a character that deserves our very best attention for its proper development. Certain it is that if we do not respect the child's personality the child is not going to respect us, and without that reciprocal relation of love and respect the work is largely going for naught. Nor can you deceive a child as to your attitude, for no one is keener to divine whether we love him or not, or whether we possess the power to win him. In other words the worker must supplement his attitude of helpfulness toward the ward with real aptitude as well.

How often, indeed, may we be fooled by first experiences with our workers as well as with our wards. One may have succeeded well with other work previously or have been rather a misfit until he took up real social work, which brought new responsibilities and requirements in the first case that reversed his previous successful experience or, in the latter case, that may have brought out latent qualities which enable him to meet the new relations in a very successful manner. I am reminded of a man who had been successful in a special kind of instruction before coming to me as a teacher, and is now filling very creditably a responsible public position, who was

well-fitted intellectually and who really loved his work with the boys and tried his very best to serve them well in school and out, but lacked that most essential quality of aptitude, that power to get hold of boys and make them realize that he was sincerely desirous of proving his helpfulness in every way possible. A workers heart and mind may both be attune to the best impulses, but he still may lack tact, ingenuity and general ability to meet the situations constantly arising in the care of children.

On the other hand I once had a pupil in a normal school who was, not prepossessing and quite backward in her scholastic attainment, who in fact was quite a sore discouragement to her teacher, but who subsequently made a great success of her work as a teacher in a slum district, because she had the ability to use what talents she had in such a manner that she won the affection and respect of all her pupils.

We are naturally distressed to find in many of our wards strong traces of abnormality or unbalanced conditions of one sort or another? How much more distressing to find those in charge of such unfortunates themselves somewhat unbalanced in important essentials. Perhaps it is firmness overdeveloped and sympathy and friendliness underdeveloped. The attempt is too often made to keep the child in some form of mental strait-jacket (if not physical) which ruins or at least dwarfs the child, forgetting that sympathetic understanding, which he probably did not have at home, is what he needs now quite as much as the tight-rein; in fact such an understanding is absolutely necessary to assist in acquiring the proper tension of said rein without causing it to break.

On the other hand trying experiences have resulted from those other one-sided people who fairly tingle with sympathy but are quite oblivious of the necessity of tempering it with firmness. A lack of firmness on the part of the parents is a contributing cause of juvenile delinquency, for it breeds disobedience to parental authority followed by disregard of school and state regulations. How necessary then that the worker shall provide in a tactful but thoroughly impressive way that training which has been denied the ward in his previous experience.

Perhaps the enumeration of a few specific suggestions rather than glittering generalities may not be amiss. Some of them may seem very trivial but little things loom large to a child, and in fact make up a good deal of the life of most of us.

At the outset then let us say that one way to win a child

is to see the importance of things through his eyes. His little ills or grievances need sympathetic attention; if imaginary, we should dispel the illusion in a patient and tactful manner; if real, we should give it such attention as it deserves in order to promote his best interests, proving to him our genuine concern for his welfare and happiness. It may only be the recovering of a ball which some bigger fellow has taken from him, or securing some adjustment for a toy broken by another, or a straightening out of some game tangles, or healing some breach that has occurred between him and some companion, or a simple balm for a finger-cut or stomach-ache.

I agree most heartily with the assertion that every one in institutional work from the maid or farm hand to the superintendent should be selected or retained with reference to their ability to interest, impress and develop in the right way the youthful associates they are called upon to instruct, for it is quite as important that a boy should learn how to dry dishes carefully and correctly or hoe the potatoes in the right way, or clean up the yard properly as it is that he should solve his arithmetic problem correctly, eat properly or obey the general regulations of the place. That is, every worker should realize the responsibility of maintaining the attitude of a teacher, who not only tells how but why. The worker who says he would sooner do it himself than to try and teach the boy or girl to do it should change his attitude at once or resign. Do we not, all of us, have the tremendous obligation to fit these wards for a life of self-support, independence and happiness? To accomplish this we must be willing to sacrifice a great deal of time and energy.

Instead of being able to build on several years previous training we frequently have to start at the very beginning with children ten or twelve years old, which is a task worthy of the best. Then, in order to eliminate drudgery, we must try to make the work as attractive as possible by explaining the reasons for doing it at all and also for doing it in a certain way. If in addition to explaining that ground needs to be prepared for seeds we explain how necessary it is to get it into a fine condition for the small seeds to grow properly and ask him to watch the resulting growth carefully as the seeds begin to sprout through the surface, and make him feel that he has an important part in that great process of nature, he will really find pleasure in it, — and so will you. It need not be added, perhaps, that the institutional worker who is not enthusiastic and happy in his own work will not be able to create very much joy in the task assigned the ward unfortunate enough to be placed under his care.

And so in very many other ways we can gradually get them to realize some responsibility and privilege in each day's experience. It is incumbent upon the institutional worker to preach the gospel and dignity of work both by example and precept, for a thousand precepts from a lazy individual would avail less than one man's striking industry without a single precept. Perhaps the greatest secret of all is to introduce as much as possible of the spirit of the game into work. Who can make the cleanest yard? Who can weed his row of onions the best? Can one boy pick up the potatoes as fast as two boys can dig them? What group of boys can pick most berries in an hour? (Of course no restrictions on how many they dared eat while picking). What boy keeps his team of horses looking the nicest? And a multitude of others.

Dr. Brinton says: "the measure of the valor of work is the amount of play there is in it with the measure of the valor of play is the amount of work there is in it."

Returning to the so-called trivial things once more, I believe that we should encourage the children to have pets, however much of a nuisance we might consider them, because of the effect they are likely to have in softening some of the harder natures who are apt to be sent to us. Many a leisure moment, too, that might otherwise be spent in planning mischief will be profitably spent in playing with and caring for these pets.

Again, the worker who cannot appreciate wholesome fun and especially a boy's sense of humor is going to have his troubles. We too often forget that we were just as full of life and gaiety as the present youths are and they are only expressing a natural characteristic when they fill a day full of activities, good, bad or indifferent. Too often do we try to repress those activities when we ought to be ready with a substitute to offer, if we find it necessary to eliminate the one they have voluntarily proposed. If they have overlooked the principle of fair warfare in a snow ball fight and have soaked their snow-balls in water or have placed some hard substance in the center, show them how to play fair and improve their fun by helping them to erect snow forts and providing competent umpires for a fair but none the less grand battle. Or if two boys have indulged in an exhibition of superfluous energy expanded upon each other in a fistic encounter or some other form, it is the worker's business to provide at once another form of rivalry in the mowing of the lawn or digging of a ditch.

The play instinct of a child is now well recognized as an important element to be considered in his general education,

and every worker should be aware of this and turn it to advantage wherever possible.

Another thing which every worker should bear in mind is the necessity for showing appreciation when the occasion warrants it. Or should this be only when the achievement has been so marked that you cannot help but see it and comment on it favorably to him, but look for opportunities to say an appreciative word if you would have your influence tell. This will help more than anything else to make the child responsive to corrections and general guidance. Nor should the little, common courtesies be omitted when dealing with the child if the worker would win his respect. A cheery salutation or smile may make the difference between a happy day and one devoid of any joy for the one who has a right to expect us to make him happy. Though some of our wards may be stolid and unresponsive, either through an unfortunate heritage or a particularly depressing previous environment, I think none will deny that we can measure our success or failure by the degree of happiness which prevails in those under our care.

Just a word in conclusion. A Mr. Mason has said that a leader among boys "must necessarily have the magnetism of Moses, the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon." This may be too much to expect of the average institutional worker but there must be real character, real power, real devotion to high ideals, for after all is said and done we must remember that "teaching is a matter of contagion rather than instruction." The boy or girl is an imitative creature and trustful and we should secure for them examples most worthy of emulation.

DISCUSSION

DR. WOLFENSTEIN: These subjects are now open for discussion.

MRS. AMY F. EVERALL, LANCASTER, MASS: In Mr. Johnson's paper he emphasized the fact that the relationship between the officer and the girl or boy should not be that of matron and maid, or superior and inferior, but I gathered that he meant it should be teacher. The question I have to ask is, I object to the use of the word "inmate" I think "pupil" sounds better, but what term are we going to substitute for officer? While it is true all the officers should be teachers, how are you going to differentiate between the school teachers and matrons and housekeepers.

MR. JOHNSON: I think it is a good thing to eliminate all institution-phraseology from our schools for children. We all know the evolution that has taken place in the names of institutions; most of our institutions now are schools, instead of houses of refuge or reformatories, and in our own school, I have tried to call every child a pupil and call the place a school, and those who are not teachers, to call them attendants. That is

the only word I can think of to substitute for worker or employee. The teachers, of course, their name is distinguished for them. Cottage mother is better where the cottage exists, but where there is no cottage, those who take care of the children might suitably be called an attendant rather than an officer and the child an inmate.

MRS. EVERALL: Attendant to me suggests a hospital.

MR. JOHNSON: That is true.

DR. WOLFENSTEIN: We have with us a gentleman whom we always like to hear from, Brother Barnabas.

BROTHER BARNABAS OF LINCOLNDALE, N. Y: I am sure Mr. Johnson's paper has covered everything and I am sure we are all delighted to have such an excellent description.

It seems to me speaking of the school that it frequently happens that the teacher instead of preparing his work well has been out to some social event and comes in out of humor. We all admit that if we have been teaching mathematics all our lives we are not justified in going into the class without preparation, and it frequently happens that the teacher being unprepared blames John for this or that. If the teacher had been ahead of the class and had his pencils there, there wouldn't have been that difficulty, and we ought to insist on our teachers preparing the lesson for that day no matter how many years he has been teaching the multiplication table. There is some particular child that he must reach that day, and we must impress upon the teachers that our boys require just as much attention as any boarding school boy requires.

I am so pleased and we are all delighted to hear that excellent paper that Mr. Johnson gave us and I would like to see it published and spread broad-cast.

With regard to punishment: We all realize the necessity of never punishing on the moment and making the boy realize his fault and using the punishment as an educational factor.

Then in the education of the boy. If our boys must learn about harnessing and feeding horses, we want to have him taught correctly by a competent man, therefore we ought to have a man who will take time to explain to the boy the different parts of the harness and if the boy makes a mistake, instead of swinging at him, take particular pains to explain what would happen if that harness wasn't fixed properly and teach him the proper way, and I think if we keep on working along this line we will convince the people back of us that when they take the responsibility before God and man of that child that that child should have the same consideration and care as their own boy or girl and when the boards of managers recognize that they stand before the public responsible, that they are not doing their duty, that they are not justified in seeing how cheaply they can feed John Smith, I think if we could bring it about so we could get the people back of us to understand that it is our duty to take that boy and do for him as they are doing for their own boys and fully convince them that in the United States there is no class, that these boys are on a par with any man's boy, the sooner we can get them to conceive this, the sooner we can get proper attendants.

DR. WOLFENSTEIN: Any other lady or gentleman?

DR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I was delighted with the spirit of the paper. I inspected institutions for fifteen years and had an opportunity to view the relation of the people in the institutions to the pupils in the very same angle from those in the institution. I think there is the greatest importance in what was just said by Brother Barnabas as to the quality of the people who are employed in institutions clear down through. Your children go there and get manners from the people with whom they associate. If your people are at all fit for places they come to be ideals

in a degree for the children. I wouldn't have a scrub girl, a kitchen maid, that didn't use good English. I don't believe there ought to be a woman employed who couldn't get a certificate as a teacher simply on account of their use of English and the manners which go with that degree of intelligence. Then, I think it is extremely important that there shall be a real spirit of consecration and enthusiasm to the work. We are seeing more and more that in the end the essential element of social work is the spiritual side of it. Unless you accomplish a spiritual result, you don't accomplish anything. I remember very well seeing an institution where the assistant superintendent had been there forty years and had learned all there was to know twenty-five years before that time. There were a lot of people that had been there ten or fifteen years, and the superintendent was to go and re-organize that institution without discharging anybody, and I never saw a more artistic job, because there was a pace that set those people trotting at a rate they couldn't go and they dropped out one by one, and then there came in an entirely new line of people who brought into the institution a spirit of youth and enthusiasm and a spirit of intelligence, and it has been perfectly beautiful to see the results.

I am going to say another thing, a thing which has offended me in the years past, and that is to see an officer mounted on a bench with a pipe in his mouth watching the boys to see that somebody didn't smuggle tobacco in. I wouldn't have a man in an institution where tobacco is forbidden who was not willing to forego tobacco, because the moral effect on the boy is bad. In an institution where it is positively forbidden and made a matter of penalty, then I think that the people who have the handling of that boy ought to be made to forego the use of tobacco on their own part.

There is another thing and that is the steady gain in the quality of the people who are in these institutions. We have a very much higher qualification and I have been amazed and delighted to see the kind of people that are engaged in these lines of work. You may have the most beautiful plant in the United States and if you haven't the right kind of superintendent, it won't amount to much. I think the desire on the part of the people to inform themselves and become acquainted with what is being done else-where is also an extremely hopeful sign.

DR. WOLFENSTEIN: Ladies and Gentlemen: My attention is called to the fact that our time is passed and I have been told that I ought not to leave without making a few remarks. I shall do so and I believe I will put what I want to say in a little story from life. You know I am the superintendent of a large institution and a few years ago a gentleman had been elected to become a member of our board, who had been absolutely opposed to institutions and to orphan asylums. His friends wanted him to become converted and so he was elected to be a member of our board. He attended the meetings regularly for about a year or two and came once to our anniversary, and he, being a friend of children, took part in the anniversary with all his heart. We had a lawn fete and he had lots of friends among the children because he was liberal with the pennies and dimes and I noticed on our big lawn that he had a crowd of girls and boys around him and he was talking to them. I didn't know what he was talking about, but he had asked them very confidentially, "Tell me girls and boys, has the Doctor any pets, any favorite?" "No," they said. It was like one voice, "He loves us all alike." There was a little girl standing before him she didn't say anything. "What is the matter with you, don't you agree with the girls and boys?" And she looked up and said, "No, the Doctor has pets." "He has?" Who are his pets?" "The bad boys."

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

The President: You can argue all you please about institutions. None of those arguments apply to Dr. Wolfenstein's institution because he has a heart so big that he can give to every child his full share.

Now, I don't want to be responsible for what the next speaker says. Mr. Penn has asked to have five minutes. I haven't the least idea what he has to say.

MR PENN: Ladies and Gentlemen: Judge Addams asked me if I would ask you this morning how large your pocketbooks are. Now, we have had a very excellent meeting here, although the National Conference met elsewhere. All good things cost money and we find ourselves just a little bit behind. Now, we are not going to ask you for any large contributions, but we do need probably \$100 or \$150, and I am not going to take much of your time, but I would just like to know how many people in the house will give five or ten dollars.

(At this point contributions from various members of the Conference were received.)

THE PRESIDENT: We now take up one of the most important topics on the program. Mr. Hebbard of the New York State Board of Charities has given this subject careful attention and he will now present a paper on that subject. I am ruling with a high hand because we have to leave at half past eleven.

MR. ROBERT W. HEBBERD, SECRETARY, STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES, ALBANY, N. Y. Mr. Chairman. Ladies and Gentlemen: The subject that has been assigned to me is Mothers' Pensions. This is a very live topic in this State at the present time and I have had my paper printed not only for use this morning, but for general circulation throughout the State. I am not going to read all this paper this morning, but I have left a number of copies on the registration table and those who would like to read it are welcome to take copies as they go out.



“Mothers’ Pensions”

By Robert W. Hebbard,

Secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York.

During the past few years there has been sweeping over this country a chivalric movement, largely backed by what is commonly known as the “sterner sex”—Mr. Kipling to the contrary notwithstanding—designed to secure what had theretofore generally been lacking, namely adequate relief for certain classes of mothers with dependent children. At the present time about twenty states provide for this form of relief by special statute, although under their general poor laws many other states, New York State outside of New York City included, have the right to grant such relief to mothers as well as to those classes of the dependent.

This form of relief specially granted from public sources to mothers with dependent children, in their homes, has come to be popularly known as “Mothers’ Pensions.”

For this movement, despite the misconception which may arise because of its popular name, I must publicly profess the profoundest sympathy, although I am unable to go as far in support of it as some of its other advocates. To my mind it exemplifies that broader-minded view of public duty and responsibility of which we are beginning to see practical evidence in many directions.

It is, however, undeniable that there are some serious dangers to be guarded against in granting relief in the home whether from public or from private sources if such relief possesses the attraction of adequacy, to needy mothers of even the best character.

The name given to this form of aid in the home whether “pension”; “outdoor relief”; “home assistance”; or otherwise, would be of no particular importance, if it were not necessary to take into careful consideration the human equation involved, to study considerably some of the elements which go to make up the nature of a man, and to understand that in this light the ordinary human viewpoint of even the name given to relief becomes an important element in the matter.

There are, it must be conceded, certain classes of cases involving the care of dependent mothers with children which cannot as a rule be safely and systematically relieved through the granting of “mothers’ pensions,” or by the giving of any other form of relief for the purpose of perpetuating the existence of the home and the family relation.

Let us, therefore, having in mind the manifest virtues as well as the possible dangers of this form of relief—relief primarily designed for the very laudable purpose of enabling good mothers to bring up their own children—briefly examine the logic of the situation and determine to what extent we can subscribe to this new movement.

By way of prelude to this examination I wish to emphasize the importance of insistence upon the fact that the duty rests upon men and women to care for themselves and for those lawfully dependent upon them to the fullest extent possible. Furthermore we must be careful to have this duty clearly recognized and acknowledged by society generally. It is one of the chief corner stones of law and order and of a very desirable general progress towards higher things. This is particularly true in so far as the payment of wages is concerned. The right of wage-earners generally to receive, under normal conditions, sufficient recompense to enable them to care for themselves and their families and to make reasonable provision for the support of such families in case of old age, death or other misfortune, must be upheld as a fundamental principle of social life.

We do not wish on the one hand to frame excuses for husbands and fathers, nor for wives and mothers either, which will lend them any encouragement to waste their means in drink or in any other form of hurtful extravagance; nor on the other hand, do we wish to frame excuses for employers whereby they may be able to refrain from paying a living and a saving wage to those who work for them. To the contrary, we should everywhere, in so far as possible, strive to uphold these two logical principles, one the duty of parents to care for their children and the other that of society generally to make this possible not through relief or "pensions," but by means of adequate compensation paid to such parents for the work they perform.

In order to facilitate independent support of this character we undoubtedly need and should have in this country a system of industrial insurance, such as exists in Germany for example, where it is compulsory for the workman to pay for insurance thereby making for thrift and independence to the fullest extent possible. Except where it becomes a question of humanity pure and simple, there should be no departure from this general policy. To the contrary, it should in many cases be enforced to a much greater extent than it is at present.

Those, however, who are urging industrial insurance as

a substitute for relief in the home, should remember that in Germany and other countries where systems of social insurance have long and successfully existed, it is still found necessary to grant public relief in the homes of the poor. This must always be the case in any country where there is a large number of casual workers, particularly those of the lower grades, with more or less frequently recurring seasons of unemployment; for of course a social plan cannot be very successfully carried out on compensatory lines where employment and income are casual and irregular. Those are offended by the use of the word "pension" as applied to the home assistance of mothers, can readily find equally good reasons for condemning the term "social insurance", where the returns from such insurance are not, in the long run, based upon the actual payments of the insured. There will then probably always be in this and other countries many cases of need that a just and equitable system of compulsory insurance can never teach. For this reason it is probable that we must always have a suitable system for the relief of the poor in their homes. In other words both the greater and the lesser things are necessary. By the greater I mean in this connection the several forms of compulsory social insurance based upon actual payments by the insured. By the lesser I refer to the various methods of relieving the poor who are not now and perhaps would never be, under any equitable system that could be devised, the beneficiaries of a plan of social insurance that may be relied upon to prevent distress. Under our democratic system of government the greater benefit may be a long time coming, while the smaller and no less necessary method for the prevention of distress can be had almost at once. As the experience of Germany and other countries shows, these methods are by no means incompatible; both are necessary, and neither will take the place of the other. To the contrary each supplements and rounds out the purpose of the other.

An article in the London Charity Organization Society Review published only last month, in referring to the German system of insurance, contains the statement that "The insurance system has not prevented the growth of the burden of poor relief upon the individual." Furthermore, the assertion is made that in some districts "out relief," by which relief in the home is meant, "is growing." One of the reasons given for the increased cost of poor relief is that social insurance has "roused the social mind of the masses and thus led to a broader view of poor relief." Those, who, in their

desire to defeat legislation for the adequate relief of the widow and her children, give currency to the assertion that a system of social insurance will render such relief unnecessary, will do well to give careful thought to these existing conditions in Germany where the actual reverse is asserted to be the case.

As I have said, granting charitable relief in the home to certain classes of dependent mothers with young children, whether such relief is given in the guise of a "pension" or not, may be attended with serious dangers

Let us take for example the family where the husband has a tendency to become a periodical deserter. There are, doubtless, thousands of men in this country who would be overtempted to cease the struggle for existence and to desert their families if they could be sure that a "pension" would be forthcoming as the result of such desertion. In many of these cases it would be almost impossible to determine whether or not the desertion was genuine. It must be evident that society cannot afford to hold out this temptation to the weak or the shiftless heads of families. Any policy, or form of relief giving, whether from public or from private funds, that appreciably increases the number of wife and family desertions is one of dubious propriety. Instead of encouraging wife desertion in this, or any other way, we should in my opinion go much further than we do at present to make such desertion unpopular.

In some communities money ostensibly earned by wife deserters under commitment for such offence are paid to the families of the prisoner. Inasmuch, however, as such men are unable as a matter of fact to earn even the cost of their keep while imprisoned, a more or less undesirable fallacy must be contended with in working out a plan of this character. At the same time this is not necessarily harmful, particularly when it is recognized that society must care for the family after some fashion in any event. Furthermore I have often thought that if wife and family deserters could be made to understand that, if able to do so, they would be obliged to work for their families whether such deserters were in custody or at large, it would be so fruitful of good that the fallacy involved might well be overlooked.

Then there is another kind of family where public relief in the home in the form of a "pension" so-called would in many cases be dangerous. This is the family the head of which is lazy and shiftless, possibly even feeble-minded, and frequently affects an inability to find or to do work. Here

will be found "mothers with dependent children" but to relieve them from the public funds by granting them a "pension" for use in the home would be highly dangerous. It is obvious that in the interests of society generally they must be dealt with in some other way. There are, too, other classes of cases where mothers with dependent children are concerned, where the home cannot safely be kept together by means of public outdoor relief whether called a "pension" or otherwise. It is in cases of this nature that there may be found justification for the "sink or swim," "live or die" policy of some of the private charities. In these cases the cure must be along moral rather than along material lines, inasmuch as it must be obvious that to perpetuate family relations of this nature by means of relief will simply be to increase in ever enlarging ratio the number of dependents for whom care must be provided. These cases may be left largely to the care of the private relief societies, with the assurance that the dangers incident to too much almsgiving will be averted in so far as such families are concerned. If necessary they may in cases of extremity receive such help in the care of their children as the child-caring agencies can bestow.

It is then my contention that great discretion must be exercised in dealing with the families, even where there are mothers with dependent children, whose homes we seek to perpetuate through the grant of public relief for that particular purpose.

There is, however, a class of needy persons in this and almost every other community to the adequate relief of which these objections do not apply with any real degree of force. This class is made up of widows with young and helpless children dependent upon them. They are the natural objects of charity. Relief to them should be prompt, adequate and certain. Unlike wife desertion, widowhood is not likely to be increased because of relief given to the widow in her home whereby her children can be brought up under her care if such care be suitable. Nor can it be said that the shiftlessness of husbands is likely to be increased by relief given to widows. The Scriptures point to the widow and her children as primary objects of relief.

St. James tells us that:

"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

In subsequent verses he also points out the meaning of the word "visit" when used in this connection by saying:

"What *doth it* profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him?"

"If a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food."

And one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be *ye* warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which **are** needful to the body; what *doth it* profit?"

The private charities in this and other states have done and are doing much good and I do not wish to be understood as saying anything that could possibly militate against them. But they have not now, they never have had I do not believe they can ever hope to have the means necessary to provide adequate relief for the widow and her children. This it seems to me **was** clearly shown, in so far at least as conditions in the greatest city in this country are concerned, by the Special Committee on Governmental Aid, appointed by the New York City Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911. Furthermore, some appeals recently issued by a number of the most prominent relief-giving societies in that city indicate very clearly that such societies have as a rule no reasonable ideals on the subject of relief to mothers with dependent children. Let me briefly summarize in an impersonal way a number of such appeals quite recently coming under my notice.

(a) A widow nearly blind, with two sick girl children. The mother earns \$5 a week in a brush factory. The Society desires money to pay the rent, and looks to the nearly blind woman to go out to work even though she becomes totally blind, and to provide for all the other needs of the family on \$5 a week or \$260 a year.

(b) A widow with three children. The mother by working hard as a cleaner earns \$5 a week. One child is likely to develop tuberculosis. The Society appeals for \$4 a week to help the family, in addition to "supplying nourishing diet" and "the service of the nurse."

(c) A mother with four children dependent upon her, the father having gone insane. The mother earns \$6 a week in a factory; one child earns \$1.50 a week acting as nursemaid after school hours and "even little Mamie," the appeal states, "helps by earning fifty cents a week washing dishes." The mother pays \$9 a month rent. The Society de-

sires to raise approximately \$4 a week additional for food.

(d) A widow with three children. The mother because of poor health had to give up a position as janitress and has been doing day work off and on. Two of the children are in a summer camp and the youngest, a boy of one year, is cared for by neighbors when the mother is out working. The Society desires money to pay the rent of \$9 a month, while the mother is expected to continue to go to work and to provide for a family of four out of her meagre and irregular earnings.

(e) A widow with three small children and expecting another. Relatives contribute a little irregularly and the church gives \$2 a week. The youngest child delicate and a care and expense. The Society seeks to raise \$90 for rent and food for six months. The woman "will be helped to find suitable employment as soon as she can undertake it."

From the facts presented by the societies themselves it is apparent that in not a single one of these cases, even with the mother forced to neglect her children's physical and moral well-being by going out daily to work, was the family income equal to the amount demanded by any reasonable standard of living.

When the standard of living for widows with dependent children contemplated by these appeals is compared with reasonable standards of living, the inadequacy of the means provided for the care of the widow and her family is at once made evident. Furthermore each of these appeals contemplates that the mother shall not only care for the children and her household duties generally, but also that she shall go out to work to help support the family. Let us give thought to this proposition for a moment. Concerning it allow me to repeat what I said in a former address dealing in part with this subject:

"When we consider the harsh conditions imposed in many great and wealthy communities, notably in the city of New York, upon the good widow struggling to bring up her children, and upon the poor children themselves, we are led to question the wisdom, if not the sincerity, of some of the managers of our leading charitable organizations. What man among us would have the patience to stand up for any length of time under the harsh conditions of life imposed upon dependent widows in some of our great cities? How long would we be willing to go out early and late to work to earn a pittance toward the family's support, and do the house-

work and care for the children before and after our outside working hours? When I say that a lack of system which requires this of womankind constitutes a crime against humanity, I feel that I am speaking conservatively."

Society as a whole is responsible for the way in which its individual units live and move and have their being. Society as a whole must meet this responsibility. It cannot evade this important issue through the medium of a pseudo-casualty company in the form of a private charity supported by the ten dollars or more annually contributed by the benevolently inclined, or through spasmodic special appeals in the newspapers or otherwise in the interest of individual cases.

When society as a whole commences to bear the burden of dependency which arises largely through the sickness and death caused by unsuitable housing conditions, which so many of our social reformers view with such complacent optimism, and by the inordinate use of alcohol as a beverage the sale of which is licensed by the State, thereby making society generally a direct participant in the profits of the traffic, it should begin to see that it cannot equitably nor honestly farm out the relief of the poor to the managers of private societies and itself ignore the issues involved in these serious questions.

The connection between these two great evils of our civilization, congestion of population and drink, and this sombre figure in black, with her dependent children, is too direct for society at large to attempt to shift its burden to a few casual shoulders.

It is idle to think that this work of relief can be achieved through the more or less desultory almsgiving of a relatively few charitably disposed individuals, and without the aid of the entire social fabric concerned in the problem. To paraphrase a common expression, the attempt of the private relief societies to deal with this problem is at best but child labor in a situation where the serious work of men is required. If in the fullness of time there should be a code of procedure designed to protect the private charitable agencies from cruel and inhuman treatment, the more or less prevalent custom of some communities of imposing upon such societies the work of relieving widows and children in their homes might logically be interdicted in a section of the statute enacted for the prohibition of juvenile labor.

Public relief in the home is a function of government.

This is shown by the fact that the policy of granting it is of almost world-wide application. In the State of New York, outside the city of New York, from the city of Buffalo where it is largely relied upon by the Charity Organization Society itself, to the smallest towns, public outdoor relief is granted to families in their homes. Neglect on the part of government to exercise this function wisely, particularly in the cases of widows of good character with dependent children, which every consideration of humanity, as well as of right and justice, demands should be assisted to bring up the children under their own care, means enlarged cost to the community. The inadequate support of widows, coupled with excessive and unreasonable demands upon their strength, cause them to break down and the government is obliged to support them in hospitals at large expense while their children are committed to child caring institutions where the public has also to pay the bill. If the children are neglected because the mother is obliged to go out to work they all too frequently find their way into the institutions for the delinquent where again the public has to pay the cost. Practically none of this expense is ever borne by the private relief agencies although their inadequate means and ideals are largely responsible for this added and in a great measure preventable burden upon the general public.

A formulated object of the societies "to secure adequate help for suitable cases" summarizes reasonably well the promise and the hope held out to the community by the private relief societies. It gives evidence of their recognition of its necessity. But because the hope and the promise largely lack fulfillment by such societies the public must, in so far at least as the relief of widows with dependent children is concerned, take over this duty and carry out the desirable promise. It is the duty of the State to care for these afflicted ones and the State can do the work. It is not the duty of the private societies and they are unable to perform it. May Heaven, therefore, speed the day when every good widow, with dependent children who are being brought up by her properly, can keep her little ones under her protecting care through the power which the State alone can exercise in the giving of relief that will be both prompt and adequate to meet the needs of every suitable case. Otherwise, "Brethren, what *doth* it profit?" Of what value, the good St. James, of wonderful perspicuity, would ask, is promise without performance, is faith denatured of its logical works?

We hear much of the "overlapping of relief," a com-

mon phrase of what is known as "scientific charity," although this name is not to my mind one of reproach: but looking back over an experience of more than thirty years, almost equally divided in point of time between service in public and in private charity, I can truthfully affirm that, while I have known much of the creaking and clashing of the constituent parts of the machinery of relief, I have not yet seen a single case in which adequate assistance, whether from public or from private sources, has been given to the widow and her children. Society has millions to spend in drink and vicious living, in the dance and eating places of Broadway and other streets of our great cities, but so far as this pitiful, shrinking, sorrowing creature, with her children looking into her anxious, wondering eyes, is perceived, the spirit of chivalry seems to be more or less dormant. It is so in this State at least. So far as society generally, with its automobile parties, its tango dances, and other revelries, practically cares, she may work herself to the bone, early and late, at home and in the factory, she and her children may go without suitable food and clothing, they may go entirely to the bad through lack of a mother's watchful care. Under our present inadequate system of charity many must go down and down practically without care. We want and we should have a system that will guarantee the proper relief of the good mother who is a widow and has young dependent children, which will see that the public which does not give voluntarily and spontaneously to this cause, while it selfishly or unthinkingly wastes its means in every known form of extravagance, is compelled by law to do its duty in this cause, a cause of the most supreme importance in the whole field of charity.

Under a proper system of relief that nearly blind widow would not have to grope her way fearfully and tremulously through the crowded streets of a great city to earn a pittance, while her two young girls are left at home without a mother's care and oversight; the little girl whose father has been laid in the grave through tuberculosis, that disease of the poor, would not have to give over her hours of recreation to mind a baby at 21 cents a day, nor will "little Mamie" have to wash dishes, when she should be at play, to earn seven cents a day to add to the family income. Neither will the poor sick widow have to go out to more or less regular days' labor while her three small children are being temporarily cared for by others. Nor will any of the cases referred to have to be dealt with so crudely for lack of a little money. Society

at large will, out of its abundant coffers, pay the bill for their support under right conditions. But it will be given as public relief, as a matter of humanity pure and simple, and not a "pension." It may in the long run mean a pleasure or two less, or some small additional burden, so far as society in general is concerned, but it will also mean a better and a nobler standard of care for the good widow and her unfortunate children, who are a logical charge not upon the private relief societies with their inadequate means and standards, but upon the body politic with its adequate resources. This standard fully lived up to will not degrade the race, but will ennoble it and help to make good the assertion of the gentle poet who walked in his fields at Amesbury, that "Bayards and Sidneys still are here."

DISCUSSION

THE PRESIDENT: We have a short time for discussion. It is a great pity we haven't more time. I am going to ask you to waste none of the time and in your talking come right to the point. The discussion is to be opened by Mr. Porter R. Lee of the School of Philanthropy.

MR. PORTER R. LEE, NEW YORK CITY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It seems to be pretty nearly true that we are expected to be for Mothers' Pensions, against Mothers' Pensions, or on the fence. I believe it is unnecessary to occupy anyone of those three positions. I think we can approach it from a different view, more or less like the view which Mr. Flexner said we ought to take, that the time is past when we can afford to insist upon schools. There is just one scientific way of looking at things and that is, what is the right and best thing to do in circumstances, and next question is, how are you going to get it done.

Every one of us is interested in this sombre figure and we all want to get the right thing done for her. Most of us can concede absolutely everything Mr. Heberd has to say. We have had a failure of our relief methods, a downright deplorable failure. We have also had a new consciousness of what relief work might be just as we have had a new consciousness of what social work could be. Our horizon is broadening and we recognize a great many things in behalf of the poor and unprivileged which didn't use to be thought of, and in the light of these ideals and recent standards, a great deal of the work we have done in the past stands forever condemned and we have got to go ahead in the future on distinctly more efficient lines. That is true with the field of relief; that is true of caring for children; that is true in the care for sick; that is true in the care for prisoners.

Now, when we have said all that, we have brought ourselves to the point of deciding what we are going to do. Mr. Heberd spoke about the failure of private relief. Possibly he emphasized that because he is engaged in public charity and because a good bit of attention is centered upon New York City where they don't have public outdoor relief. The failure of private relief in this country doesn't compare, in my judgment, with the failure of public relief. We have been trying for years,

generations, centuries, to deal as a public with this problem of human misery, this giving of relief, and never yet have we succeeded nor made good at it. Now, we in New York State as in a good many other states, perhaps need to ignore absolutely all the existing machinery for giving public relief and to bring in some new machinery with a new name and do the same thing over again. I have yet to hear what has happened to public officials and private citizens as members of the body politic, what has happened to our processes of administering relief, either public or private, that would lead us to think by changing the name of the thing we are going to do it more efficiently than before. We have ignored in this discussion the question of what it is that we really need to give these clients of ours. In some private societies, possibly Mr. Hebbard doesn't know it, there is a standard of treatment, of individualizing families who need assistance in just exactly the painstaking way the you try to individualize boys and girls in institution work, and in some of those organizations adequate relief is now being given. If Mr. Hebbard will go to the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, I am sure they can show him some instances. I know they can in Boston and Philadelphia. In every case adequate relief is given. Most of them don't, but we are trying and we are making progress and that is more than I can say for any public relief official I ever heard of. Now, I don't know the public relief officials and perhaps Mr. Hebbard can tell me where to get that same information about them. We are trying to ascertain the underlying causes; trying to make sure the children are in school; that adenoids are removed; that the health is looked after; that children who have vocational possibilities of particular kind are given the attention necessary to develop those possibilities; that the spiritual atmosphere of family life is nurtured, maintained and assisted. That isn't an easy process. By far the larger proportion of the children coming to our juvenile courts, and truants in school, and the children who are furnishing our social problem; don't come from dependent families at all. If we are going to provide the family maintenance, certainly we have a right to insist that these things are taken care of. We must have the ability to find out what those things are and to insist that they are given attention.

Now, then, I don't see how in the world we are going to get along without public relief over vast stretches of this country: it is the only standing between the poor and starvation. But before we go ahead and create a new machinery and appropriate large sums of money for public relief for this specialized class of dependent widows with children, let's get at the facts and find out why we have failed. They tell me the State of Indiana is doing the most effective relief of any State in the Union. I wrote to Indiana to get some information regarding public relief work and they told me they are now doing efficient outdoor relief work and they showed first the amount of money spent for public outdoor relief has been reduced 75 per cent. The number of families has been reduced approximately in a like proportion and the number of almshouse inmates has likewise been reduced. Now, efficiency with a physician isn't tested by the number of patients he doesn't treat. The real test is what happens to those few who remain. I heard as eminent a social worker as Homer Folks say about public outdoor relief that it has been the most monumental failure in the whole scheme of social work; it has been the most criticized, the greatest failure. Why is it? Frankly I don't know. Now, if Mr. Folks doesn't know why public outdoor relief has failed, let's not try to extend that or any other kind of relief until we find out, and my suggestion is to go into that question as thoroughly as the industrial commission is to go into industrial problems of this country and find out

why we fail, why our private relief has failed, and then go to work to strengthen both methods of relief to be given.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hunter ought to know about the practical workings of the Mothers' Pensions if anybody does.

MR. JOEL D. HUNTER, CHICAGO, ILL. Mr. Chairman, Members of the Conference: I think it is possible to have heard both the talks this morning by Mr. Hebbard and Mr. Lee and agree with them. Mr. Lee's talk however is about two years too late. The present situation is that twenty states of this Union have already passed Mothers' Pension laws. They are now on the statute books and it seems to me that there are only three attitudes which possibly can be taken by the social worker.

Honest opposition to this method of relief because it is fundamentally wrong and will not and cannot work. Or else one can stand aside and talk about what the proper method should be, have a sort of do-nothing attitude which I think some have taken; and there is a third attitude which is to help in the administration of the system of relief which is still in its experimental stage. Give it a fair deal and see if it cannot possibly bring adequate relief to a certain number of families. Perhaps Mr. Lee does not know but there are a good many different kinds of administration being tried out. In Massachusetts, it is under the supervisors of the poor; in New Jersey, under the Board of Public Guardians; in Wisconsin under the county courts; in Illinois under the county courts and Juvenile court. Let's cooperate as social workers with these various kinds of administration which are being tried and see if it is not possible to bolster up the public relief system which has been, if not an absolute failure, at least unsuccessful in many respects. Let's give Mother's Pensions a fair trial inasmuch as twenty states have already adopted these laws, and let's see if among the different kinds of administration being tried we cannot find some kind which will produce good results. I want to read a little about the kind of administration we are trying to work out in Cook County, Chicago. We started two years ago with a ridiculous law giving all power to the judge of the juvenile court; it didn't say anything about the methods of the administration; it didn't say anything about the amount of money, except that the judge could give money to anybody who met certain general requirements. It was a ridiculous law and two years later a new law went into effect which states very clearly and concisely the people eligible for pensions.

There are many families in Cook County, Illinois, in which the father is either dead or permanently incapacitated for work; in which the mother is a citizen of the United States, a resident of Cook County for three years and a proper person physically, mentally and morally to bring up her children but who is unable herself to properly provide for them and who is without relatives of sufficient ability to support them. If any reason has been advanced why a woman who meets the above requirements should not receive an income from the State adequate to her needs it has not as yet been presented in convincing form.

I want to state briefly the system of organization adopted in the Cook County Juvenile Court to safeguard and make efficient the administration of the Funds to Parents Act of Illinois.

All applicants for funds must apply in person to the Juvenile Court. From their statements a face card is filled out which is approximately the same as the one in use by the United Charities of Chicago. The applicant must affirm her statements. She is then visited by the district probation officer who reports to the Head of the Department on all visits. When the investigation is complete if it is felt that there is a chance of the court granting funds the field supervisor of the Department who is a

trained dietician, estimates what the minimum budget for that family would be. The facts of the case and the estimated minimum budget are then presented by the probation officer to the Conference Committee, which meets two afternoons a week. Every application which is worked on must come before this committee. There the case is dismissed because of some non-conformity to the law, such as there being relatives of sufficient ability to support the family, or it is deferred for further investigation, or else funds of a certain amount are recommended. All cases which are recommended at this time are now visited by an investigator from the County Agents Office, it being felt by the County Agent and the Court that too much care cannot be taken in safeguarding this highest form of governmental relief. The case is presented to the court by the probation officer with the recommendation of the Conference Committee, the mother and children being in court. The County Agents Investigator is also present and the judge hears whether or not his report concurs with that of the probation department. The court then dismisses the case or grants an income of a certain amount. Unusually the recommendation of the Committee is accepted.

The work of the department in supervising the families to whom funds have been granted is as difficult and as important as the safeguarding of the investigating. In order that the officers may become expert along this special line of work they confer frequently with the head of the department and the field supervisor, also a series of officers meetings are being held at which talks are given by the field supervisor on such subjects as "Children's Dietaries," "Things a Child under 4 years of age must not eat," "Time table for fireless cooker," "Estimated minimum budgets," "Dietary work of the Visiting Housekeeper."

The work of this department is vastly different from the ordinary work of a probation officer and especially trained people are needed to do efficient service. When the administration of this law was given to the Juvenile Court it was not ready for it. Now after two years the law has been amended so that it is definite and workable and a majority of the officers have had experience and theoretical training enough so that we are willing and anxious to have the Funds to Parents Department compared with similar work by private organizations so that it may be found from such a comparative study what the best method of relief is for families in which this condition of dependency is sure to be of several years standing. It would have to be a strong argument to convince us of Chicago that it is not right for the State to grant regular and adequate relief to such families.

In the Juvenile Court of Cook County (Chicago) about 34 per cent of the delinquent boys were from families in an abnormal social condition. In some of these families the parents were divorced, in some the parents were living apart, and in many either the father or the mother was dead. Outside of this 34 per cent, 14 per cent of the boys were from families in which the father was dead and 9 per cent from families in which the mother was dead.

There have been 1761 children in the families receiving pensions from the Juvenile Court of Cook County. Not one of these children has been brought before the Court on a delinquent petition and only two are truants. It seems to me that this fact alone shows the success of granting adequate relief and of the method of supervision which has been adopted by the Cook County Juvenile Court in its Funds to Parents Department.

THE PRESIDENT: We have a few minutes more. Miss Curtis.

MISS FRANCIS G. CURTIS, OF BOSTON: As a Member of the State Board of Charity I want to say a few words. On one side we must

remember that it is not a matter of dollars. Mr. Hebbard implies if we give enough dollars we are going to solve the problem. Mr. Hunter has hinted if we had dieticians, we may solve the problem. One thing that has to be borne in mind: when we get enough care and insight into the working out of the family development we are going to get a successful treatment on the widow's problems, but not until we get all those factors working together, the care, the interest, the friendly sympathy which needs more than dollars and more than the children need the right food, not until we get all those things together are we going to solve it. Our law in Massachusetts, which, after considering all the possibilities, has decided upon the overseers of the poor, who are the judges of ordinary relief cases, who have the cases of families in their care or are the best persons to work at this admittedly more delicate, more difficult, case of the widow with her family.

The overseers of the poor in Massachusetts have been hampered by the fact that they did not have the power to give as much money as they thought was necessary. That is one of the absurd failures of our system of public relief. We all agree with those critics who say it is one of the failures of the country. The fact is we are too fond of law and too fond of rule and we say families or widows in need of relief shall have so much and no more and we give our officials no power to use their own individual judgment. Now, as we feel we are going to work out a better system in Massachusetts, we have taken this for our guide, that any family is to have what it needs in the best judgment of the overseers. The overseers are to give to any family or mothers with dependent children what they consider satisfactory relief, subject to the satisfaction of the visitor of the State Board of Charity. That is to say, so long as this work is done in the local communities by the friends or the neighbors who have knowledge of the communities and who have a knowledge of how that relief is working out and also from the point of view of the visitor of the State, it seems to me as though we have the best chance of preventing those faults which result from limited relief money from public sources, and of keeping and conserving those precious family neighborly interests which are the things most vital in the life of the family.

THE PRESIDENT: We have a few minutes more.

MR. HEBBERD: I would like to say this with regard to the statement of Miss Curtis, that I do not for a single moment believe the only thing is money. I believe the widows should have the sympathetic interest and care of good people just as they are receiving it now from many relief organizations, but I believe they need above all things as a basis for the perpetuation of their existence money to keep the family going; otherwise, they are very much in the condition of the horse that a man was trying to feed and bring up on green shavings. The horse seemed to be getting along very well until suddenly it died, and that is the condition of these widows if there isn't money enough to perpetuate the home while these good people are seeking to guide and direct the family properly. I didn't mean to convey the impression that it was simply money needed. It needs all the kindness but the money besides, and unless the money is there, the family cannot be perpetuated by this case treatment here described.

MISS HENDERSON OF MONTREAL: I feel I have got to say a word or two on this most important subject, Mothers' Pension. I have listened to two or three various opinions this morning and it is a little bit too late to go into the details leading into these questions discussed, but perhaps a word from Canada on the Mothers' Pension may be enlightening, because, as you know, a reflection always passes from one country to

another. What you are doing in the United States, which is more progressed in the Mothers' Pension than we are in Canada,—you have already introduced it in twenty states, we haven't it in one yet. The problem of the Mothers' Pension first came to my notice when I entered into the investigation of the cases coming before the juvenile court two years ago, and in 50 per cent. of the cases coming before us in the juvenile court, 50 per cent. of the children coming there are either children or orphans, more of widows than orphans. The Mothers' Pensions first of all was brought to the notice of the general public in Canada just one year ago the 9th of this September at the Trades and Labor Congress. I was asked to go there. I had been reading and speaking on the subject and they asked me if I would address that audience and from that address last February a committee of eight members from the House of Commons telegraphed me and asked if I would go and talk to them on the need for Mothers' Pensions in Canada. I went there and had two or three conferences with the members and told them exactly what I had found and the needs for the Mothers' Pension and the absolute necessity if we were to stem the terrible tide of delinquency throughout our country. I had facts and figures to prove my case and I assured them that there was nothing more important than the preservation of the home and the home could not be preserved without that most important factor in the home, the mother. Now, there is nothing new about the Mothers' Pensions. We shouldn't wait until we find out why the charity organizations and why public charity has failed. It seems to me we shouldn't wait to find out why charity has failed to give to the mother who has been left, through no fault of her own, to be the means of life, to keep her in her home. We shouldn't wait until we find out why to introduce a little bit of legislation that will keep that woman in her home and keep her from contributing to the delinquency of her children. When she goes out to do your work and my work, it means she is neglecting her children. We give to that mother the hardest kind of work and when the social forces have crowded her to the wall then we shall put your children into institutions and we take the little girl of one year into one institution, the boy of nine in another institution, and the girl of eight or ten in another institution. We not only break up that home; we separate those children from one another; we put them in various institutions and then we send that woman, morally or mentally unfit, into society. I could stand and tell you case after case of widows, good moral woman, as good as any woman in this audience, that have gone down to the depths of degradation because, as one woman said, when you people took my children from me, the only thing that was worth living for in my life, what do you think became of me, and thousands of mothers are like me simply because you have taken their children. You contribute to the delinquency of the children and mother and incur expense and no matter how much we expend we never obliterate the terrible conditions. There is nothing new about Mothers' Pensions. Napoleon first introduced it. In Switzerland, Mothers' Pensions are a huge success. It seems to me surely we can follow and become an example and introduce the Mothers' Pension, because it is absolutely necessary.

THE PRESIDENT: That will conclude the morning program. It seems to be the sentiment of those assembled that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, so we will take the afternoon off.

The meeting stands adjourned.

Seventh Session.

Thursday Evening August 26.

PRESIDING: Hon. George S. Addams.

THE PRESIDENT: I want you to see your new president this evening.

MR. ELMER L. COFFEEN: I think it is very unkind to call out the president-elect tonight. I do not want to make a speech; I want to save my thunder for next year when we meet presumably at Memphis, and it is to be hoped that all the people here tonight and all who have been here will be at Memphis next May and that we will be able to have a good conference. The success of the conference will be determined by you and the ready response that you can give the executive committee in the way of suggestions in making up the program, so we want to make the next conference as good as this and if we can improve upon it we would like to, but we will have the advantage next time of not having, we hope, another conference in session at the same time. We usually meet before the main conference or the larger conference and in that way we are enabled to have everything our own way as to getting the people together and I hope that can be done next year and I hope that the conference will respond readily in helping the executive committee in making a program that will be profitable and interesting, and at any time during the year if you have or think of any subjects, I am sure we will be very glad to receive suggestions and while we may not be able to follow them all out, we can embody certain parts of them and give them room on the program.

Thanking the conference for the responsibility and confidence reposed, I will now leave the floor for Judge Addams to finish this conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Is Mrs. West here? She doesn't seem to be. I promised her an opportunity to speak. Mrs.

West, as you remember, comes from Memphis and I presume it was her purpose to invite us all to come to her house next year. She isn't here but she is such a genial and hospitable soul that I have concluded that was her purpose and if I am mistaken she can let you know.

Now in a body made up largely of women, it seemed to me only fair that a woman should boss the situation, at least for a little while and I have been wondering to whom that duty should be assigned. I have at last found a young woman who has signs of promise and I want to give her an opportunity to test her metal. Chronologically, she has reached well, at least years of discretion, but I think by the Binet Scale her spirit would test some forty or fifty years below her chronological age. I want Mrs. Amigh to finish up the job.

MRS. AMIGH OF ALABAMA: You see friends that Judge Addams didn't dare to talk about my being baldheaded and my having too much hair, so he has tried to make out that I am below the test. This evidently isn't his evening for conference. I didn't want to preside over this meeting this evening because I believe we have a vice-president but I found that she is absent this evening. I was very fearful that almost everyone would be away from this conference this evening and I thought if there was any duty to perform I would try to perform that duty inasmuch as the papers left for the last thing on the program are given to some of our sisters in this work, and I felt I should like to have at least a good meeting this evening. It seems to be a habit our conference is getting into to leave the women until the last day and evening because they know almost everybody will be gone at that time and it doesn't matter much, and I see that plan was pretty well followed this time. However, we are going to hear from Mrs. Amy F. Everall, the superintendent of the School for Girls at Lancaster, Mass., and I hope she will come forward.

Care of Delinquent Girls as to Discipline and Vocational Training.

Mrs. Amy F. Everall.

Superintendent, Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster Mass.

The discipline in all its phases, of the so-called delinquent girls who have not yet reached their majority, in institutions for that class, is next to the selection of proper officers, the most difficult, and at the same time variable problem of the girls' institution. Discipline in its broad application to these circumstances, means the discipline of the mind, of the body, and of the passions as a process in moulding a weak human being of the weaker sex, into a self-respecting, a self-sustaining, self-controlled, law-abiding member of society.

The material to be moulded varies not only in physical strength, but in mental and moral strength as well. In the one case there may be subnormality, in the other, abnormality. The conditions too, which have caused the delinquency are perhaps in no two cases identical. In one case it may be unfortunate industrial conditions in the family; in another, the persuasive temptations of environment; and in another, perhaps an hereditary cloud upon an equal birth right. But in nearly all cases, the same result has been reached before the girl, worldly-wise, has reached the institution—I am now speaking of conditions in those states where the probation system in the courts of committment has been developed, and where therefore, the girl sent to the Institution are those who have broken the terms of probation, and are a harder, more hopeless class. Curative treatment therefore, whether bodily, mental or moral, and more times than otherwise an adjusted combination of all three—has to at once be applied to the work not only of restoration, but far too many times to the work of original construction.

In all cases, our ultimate aim must be to develop womanhood. To do this, what is good must be encouraged, what is bad must be discouraged; what is hard must be softened, what is weak must be strengthened; what is right must be instilled, what is wrong or bad must be annihilated. Whatever of reparation and construction is to be done, must be done as speedily as possible—must be done individually and

with due reflection upon the antecedents, the causative forces of the past, and the insidious foes of the future.

The foregoing then, are briefly the confronting conditions. Character-building is the achievement. The part which discipline and vocational training play are my present considerations. I am, as already indicated, going to confine these considerations to the girl in her minority, and to the girl of this age in a *reformatory* institution—with which class I am most familiar.

The large purpose of discipline is not mere insistence of obedience to rules and regulations of an institution, nor is it the *exaction* of obedience and conformity to those rules. It is rather a means to an end—the teaching of self-control, a wholesome respect for law, authority and for the convention of life; and the possession of her right of heritage—an upright life. It should be so shaped as to consistently do formative character building—just as military training disciplines the boy, imperceptibly yet definitely, by inculcating in him, and making as a part of his being, orderliness, precision and obedience. A self-controlled person is always adjustable to confronting conditions and to environment.

Character is formed by the nature of things done, and the way they are done. The mind, the muscles and morals are disciplined as well as trained, by the systematic doing of every day duties, and the performance of every day functions of life. (This as we know is the value of the Montessori system.) In fact, training in these respects, is discipline itself.

Another purpose of discipline is its facilitation in the running of an institution. This last is an important feature as far as administration is concerned, but should be ranked incidentally in laying out, and in working out, a system of character building, which is the achievement of a reformatory institution. In short, the true function of discipline in a girls' institution for minors, should be to make of it an element for building character and for ordering life so that life can adjust itself to the community, and become a part of it. The incidental functions should be to make efficient and smooth the administration of the institution.

The achievements of discipline of the mind, body and morals of a girl delinquent is not so easy as the imagination of its good effect upon the respective girl through life, and the survey of its purpose. All discipline, apart from its punitive aspects, should be inductive, i. e., an end achieved by so arranging life and environment as to induce good discipline as an ultimatum without physical correction or bodily punishment.

With the girl mentally strong, or of mature years or development, this ideal method makes headway, and lends impetus to itself. This is illustrated at Lancaster by the success of our "Honor House." Girls who have attained the honor grade in the other cottages, are eligible to the Honor House. Here they are self-governing. A major and council under the wise guidance of the matron, preside over the management of the house, hearing complaints against the "citizens," settling them, etc. This gives the girls some inkling as to civil government and teaches them independence and self-reliance.

In our other cottages we have found a simple grading system very efficacious. There are three grades in each house—the first, second, and the Honor grades. The first grades have certain privileges dear to the girls which the second graders do not enjoy. Certain misdemeanors common among the girls, count certain points—against them. A certain number such marks will degrade a girl. Once degraded, she must stay in the second grade at least a month without any marks. Any marks secured through misbehavior will mean an extra day for each mark. After remaining in the first grade two months, girls are put into the Honor grade where certain greater privileges are gained. For instance, these girls are given parties once a month, they are sent alone to the village on errands, or are taken on little trips to neighboring towns, and it is they who are eligible to the Honor Cottage.

When girls who commonly misbehave and are therefore second graders, see others wearing hair-ribbons, jewelry and other things so dear to the girl-heart, it is an incentive for them to make efforts to gain the same privileges rather than be deprived of hair-bows, jewelry, and other things so dear to them. A girl said to me one time after committing a grave misdemeanor, "Oh Mrs. Everall send me to Bolton (our disciplinary cottage) deprive me of recreations, or do anything else, but please don't make me go to church with my hair in a pig-tail."

If such simple punishments answer, you might say it must be easy indeed to discipline. But unfortunately there is always with us the class who will not respond to the ordinary methods, but need sterner measures. These may be and usually are, girls of weaker reasoning power. The impression to produce the ultimate effect then, has to come through some bodily discomfort. This may be brought about by deprivation of privileges or by the infliction or visitation in one form or another,

of actual physical penalties. Such, at Lancaster, we send to our disciplinary cottage. This is one and one-quarter miles from our main plant and is surrounded by a farm of about seventy acres. Here our small fruits are raised, and all the poultry. The girls are given plenty of out-door work, much of our laundry work from other cottages, and but few privileges. The grading system is in use here, but it is the more strict than in the other cottages. Girls sent to Bolton, may win their way back to the cottages from which they were sent, by good behavior and by working their way up to the Honor grade.

Thus the pre-occupation of the girls' minds and bodies affords a discipline of an inductive sort, achieving a desired end. Idle minds and idle bodies create discontent. We thus achieve discipline in these ways and so forestall the necessity of the last resort, physical punishment.

Then there is of course, the appeal of sentiment, which to girl-life is of variable efficacy, but must be used, like arsenic in treating the human body, sparingly and in tempered doses to secure permanent results—and alway an appeal for something else.

A good Slogan for an Institution to adopt might be "Reward the right-doer and deprive the unruly of privileges." Some of the rewards we use are monthly entertainments, picnics in summer, trips to neighboring towns, hay-rack rides, and sleigh-rides in winter. Sports and gymnastics are very valuable as disciplinary measures. If girls give vent to surplus energy in play, there is less of it to dispose of in mischief.

The constant and patient showing of the why and wherefore makes approximate results. Girls are extremely sensitive to injustice, so each matron must be just above every thing else. She must make the girl realize first of all her guilt, and then that punishment must necessarily follow, and lastly, that the punishment is absolutely fair. The most successful disciplinarian is she who leaves a lasting impression on the girl, and whose influence is felt after the girl has passed from under her training.

Leaving so much to the judgment of the matron, one can easily see that one of the greatest responsibilities of the Superintendent is the selecting of right officers—persons who are interested, kindly, unbiased, of fair judgment, and of great patience. The character of officers naturally vary greatly and they show varying talent in imparting and inspiring gradually day by day, good conduct. The atmosphere of the institution, the esprit de corps of the girls must be a happy

one—not just happy and careless, but they must be in good spirits to meet their duties and perform their obligations.

There are of course, cases where all other methods fail and chastisement must be resorted to. The limitations of Massachusetts laws made it necessary for us to invent new methods. The graded system is the result. On rare occasions we find it necessary to resort to the use of hand-cuffs, or bracelets as we prefer to call them—but to corporal punishment, never.

Religious influences play some part in the achievement of discipline, but unfortunately, not so much as we would wish.

Vocational training in its technical sense, has no real place with young or mentally or morally weak girls. There is not enough to build upon. It is only efficient where girls are mature, and have fundamental grounding in education, and where girls are of such character that they do not need protection from themselves or from themselves or from the persuasions of environment, or the seductions of the world. For young girls, or those who must have the constant protection of home influence to stimulate them, the best training is for home-making. The highest sphere for which we can train the girls is the home. A girl must be made to feel the nobility of house-work and the honor attained from skill in domestic arts. Teaching simple economical ways of making a home attractive at a minimum expense, is preparing a girl for the noble calling of wife-hood and mother-hood. Their training should fit them for places in the homes of the respectable middle-class, and later, when they make their own homes, they will have a sense of values which is very important.

MRS. AMIGH: This discussion is to be opened by Dr. Hortense V. Bruce of Hudson, N. Y.

Discussion on “care of Delinquent Girls As to Discipline and Vocational Training.”

Hortense V. Bruce, Hudson, N. Y.

With the main parte of Mrs. Everall's paper, I agree. I am glad for the broad view taken of discipline, for the punitive measures, while necessary and time-absorbing, are, after all, incidental and, as far as possible, to be forestalled. Mrs. Everall has amply and clearly given the problem, indicated the causes, and stated the results we aim to reach. These points, summed up, are to develop and to accomplish, through

physical mental and moral training, the ideals of true womanhood in, young girls, who, for one reason or another, have become the wards of a correctional school.

As the first essential for the accomplishment of this purpose, I would name the maintenance in the institution of a right mental, moral and spiritual atmosphere. This forms a subtle force whose power and value as a disciplinary agent cannot be overestimated. We have a community of impressionable responsive young girls, removed from distracting outside customs and social complications. The nature of the atmosphere, then, which permeates the life of such a community, becomes a constant influence in determining conduct and attitude of mind. From long experience, I know the value of this force. It maintains our general order; it informs all our activities and customs; it assimilates our new material. The result is apparent in the happy, sane, wholesome, normal attitude of the girls, which draws from even casual visitors such comments as: "Your girls are not afraid." "There is no sense of repression." "They respond frankly and freely, if addressed." "They express pleasure in meeting school officers and visitors." It is what makes the girls say, after discharge, — "A visit is like coming home, the one place where people understand"; "the place you do not have gossip and the carrying of unkind remarks"; "the place where people cared what sort of a woman you became;" "the place and people I want my husband to see and know."

These girls are very human. They mostly wish to do right. They desire approbation, which may be a weakness, but can be used to develop strength. Therefore, most normal girls will act in harmony with the tone of the school, and, if its ideals are right, the girls will develop habits of thought and action which become their future safeguards.

As a practical measure then, this condition called atmosphere should be emphasized, because it is an ever active force and one of the strongest, since it brings to bear upon each girl the combined influence of all the other girls, as well as of the officers of the school.

Logically, this presupposes upon the part of the school officials, strong philosophical or religious beliefs, from which emanates an enduring faith in the good in human nature. It presupposes on the part of those who have charge of the girls a sympathetic insight, unswerving integrity and a deep and broad sense of justice.

This faith in humanity has, also, a practical value. All human beings are suggestible and the suggestion of innate

goodness, and of belief in worth and value of each human soul, helps a girl to place upon herself, in every respect, a proper valuation. Incidentally, it gives an unanswerable argument for expecting courtesy toward all other persons.

Definite religious instruction is vital. There are difficulties in giving such instruction in a state school but these can be overcome with the aid and cooperation of the clergy and religious teachers. Besides, the making of life itself the expression of religion is the truest and most impressive method which can be found of teaching that religion.

The next definite method, which is psychologically right, is ethical education, to which Mrs. Everall refers as the constant and patient showing of the why and wherefore. But, for this, it is most essential, first, to learn a girl's ideas and understanding—perhaps of moral relations in general, perhaps of thoughts and views in some particular instance. This procedure is enlightening prevents confusion for both teacher and pupil. Effort can be concentrated upon clearing away wrong views, which would never have been guessed, and upon giving right ones. Such confession is not difficult to obtain if a girl is confident of sympathetic understanding.

The various specific methods mentioned by Mrs. Everall all have their value through meeting some special need of girl nature or by curbing or restraining some undesirable tendency. Physical culture and play have special values. Chorus singing as taught by a good teacher at Hudson has disciplinary effect. There is no one supreme way. Girls change and officers change. A school must have its basic principals right, but be sufficiently mobile as to its methods, to meet the varying needs of its population.

We regard continuously unsatisfactory conduct—even when it occurs with a girl of low grade of mentality—as an indication that we have not found for the girl the special good wholesome interests which will be more attractive to that girl than her selfish, unsocial activities. It may take the patient, hourly work of days, weeks and months to secure any results, but it pays when, at the end, a leader and a heroine for her misdeeds, rises, entirely unsolicited, in school, to tell the other girls that “it pays to be good.” If it is necessary to give a girl great physical discomfort as a punitive measure,—we do not use corporal punishment, so-called,—it is even more important, when she reaches the yielding point, to force upon her a sufficient variety of interesting activities to

fill her mind and keep it from wandering back to evil thoughts, she is usually the girl with fewest inner resources and with the most pathetic heredity, who behaves most badly, so she must have external aid until she has acquired the experience that pleasure and comfort result from good conduct; and she is best in the mood to accept aid when she is sorry, even if she is sorry only because she is physically uncomfortable.

I agree with Mrs. Everall as to what it is most important to teach girls, but I think we may put this under vocational education, since that "includes all forms of specialized education, the controlling purpose of which are to fit for useful occupations." Among the branches, there are distinguished, Industrial, Agricultural, and Household Arts Education, and we teach something of all these branches. In Germany, they have three groups of teachers for vocational work for women: (1) Teachers of women's handiwork, — such as knitting, crocheting, sewing and embroidery; (2) teachers of household arts; (3) vocational teachers of the industries. Therefore, we have precedent for placing the art and science of home making and the homely duties which fill the lives of the majority of women, under the name of vocation.

Upon vocational training for girls, the following from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, covers the ground so well that I quote it:—

"Girls have had much variety of work, often disconnected and unorganized. From manual training more or less like that given to boys, they have in recent years been turned toward those lines of work that every housekeeper ought to know and be able to do, such as cooking, sewing caring for infants, and supervising intelligently the outlay of food and clothing for the family. The latter movement promises more definite results, and offers far more opportunities for real usefulness as well as culture than much that was given earlier in the name of manual training. One can foretell without appreciable error what, in the main, the lifework of 90 per cent of the women of the next generation will be. Hence it ought to be comparatively easy to work out of a course of study for girls which will result in definite training for that which is really and surely coming. The children of the future will learn their mothers' language, absorb their mothers' culture, and be largely subject to their mothers' guidance. The future mother will have to spend much time and thought on clothing, cooking, washing, and the general care of her children, just as mothers do today. There will be houses to build and furnish; houses to clean and keep clean; mending to do;

health conditions to consider; plans for entertaining friends; and, perhaps more than now, definite and thoughtful consideration of how to make life worth while on a meager and sometimes irregular income."

For some time, we have been giving more or less scrutiny to our work and training, with a view to determining just how nearly we were approaching to the ideals here suggested.

One step we have taken toward a better system has been the placing in each cottage of handbooks on domestic science. Officers, as well as girls, need a different, larger, more scientific conception of housework and all that relates to home-making, and we are requiring that all girls study these books in the cottages under the instruction of the matrons. Examinations upon these subjects are held by the school teachers. Just now, there is much enthusiasm over the scheme, and the girls have found a real interest in studying ranges, the building of fires, the use of drafts, etc. Experiments showing the consumption of oxygen by combustion have, for example, been most attractive to them. The matrons will conduct the teaching with varying abilities, but I hope the competition of different cottages will give momentum to the plan and force the indifferent to carry it forward to some degree of success. In fact, the youthful enthusiasm that is poured out in response to any effort at teaching, the joy in any achievement of knowledge, of work or play, is a constant inspiration and stimulus to most who enter into this work. On the part of the girls, this ability to acquire knowledge and experience with emotions of joy and pleasure, will be of practical benefit in later life, for what they have learned with such emotional accompaniment will have a different character in their minds from what it would have had if it had been performed as necessary drudgery.

To have facts, rather than theories to work upon in re-organizing our methods, I recently sent to girls discharged and upon parole, and to employers and other women with an intimate knowledge of our graduates, circular letters, asking information upon the following points:—

- (1) What is lacking in our training?
- (2) Along what lines should improvements be made?
- (3) Along what lines and in what particulars do our methods show satisfactory results?

There was time to tabulate replies from only 42 girls and 29 employers. The observations of the latter have, however, extended in some cases, over periods of ten and fifteen years, so that many more than 29 girls were observed by the women.

The letters from the girls all show a charming loyalty, which, I am sure, is sincere, so that we value them highly from this reason as well as for the information they give. They betray the fact that the girls do not realize their shortcomings as do their employers. Youth and inexperience and less general intelligence partially explain this. Mental inability to comprehend efficient work gives the reason for this attitude in others.

On the other hand some house keepers expect from these young girls the judgment and ability to manage, — which they themselves have acquired through years of experience. They test the girls by the standard they now have reached, forgetting their own capabilities at the ages of the girls.

In answer to the question, "What is lacking?" the points suggested by other employers and woman friends, "big sisters" range from "gray matter" to "inability to entertain themselves when not working." All the points will be of value to us, but the chief ones are "Lack of self-reliance", sometimes expressed as the need of minute direction from the housekeeper and lack in ability to plan and execute work, — a lack of ability for general household management. From answers to "What should be improved?" we gather practically the same ideas.

Careful analysis of the answers from the girl points sufficiently clearly to the same defects to indicate what we should endeavor to do.

A few girls have suggested our giving instruction in trades or such education as would fit for office or shop work. But most girls think the training in housework and handiwork preferable to the other, if choice must be made between the later and the former. The intelligent ones think that the general cultivation of their intelligence and of deftness in the use of the hands will make it possible to learn factory work quickly, but their only opportunity to learn all branches of housework and sewing is in the school.

As to what is satisfactory, we receive from nearly every correspondent praise in such general terms as:— "On the whole good training;" "Well and carefully trained", "Efficient and all one could desire", "Do most things well," "Well equipped for their work."

Comments on manners and morals were mostly as follows: "Manners excellent," "All that could be desired;" morals — "Vary according to individual", "Failure not due to training", "Remarkable", "Of highest standard".

Necessarily, some reports had to include these criticisms,

“Discourteous”, “Lack of Sensibility”, “Sulks and disobliging at times”, “Deceitful”, “Bold with men;” But the large majority were hopeful.

Another proof as to the general satisfactory results of our training is that those who make application for our girls have learned of the school from friends who have employed our girls so that the girls themselves are finding new places and homes for others.

In such training schools, though the pupils are girls who have failed outside, we have the advantage of being able to practice our teachings without hindrance. Teachers and matrons mostly unite with perfect understanding in their efforts and the girls meet no counteracting influence, such as teachers and pupils have to contend with when the pupils are living in their own homes. Our disadvantages are the large groups, even with the cottage system, and matrons untrained as vocational teachers. Yet, because of certain advantages, our vocational education should reach a high standard of efficiency. I believe that, recognizing our short-comings, we may, with suitable effort, add in an efficient way to our training, the study of house management, business management in the home and the business of purchasing, as well as teaching more thoroughly and scientifically, sanitation, dietetics, the care of children and of the sick and information about clothing and household fabrics.

We must aim to reach this standard. Some girls will profit by it; all will gain some conception of the larger meaning possible for the lives of most women.

DISCUSSION

MRS. AMIGH: You have now heard these two papers and surely they were worth hearing, and they are open to discussion to anyone having a desire to say anything in regard to either one of them. We have heard a great deal about boys; now tonight comes the girls, and I hope the ladies with us will not fail to have something to say and that they will come to the platform to say it.

MRS. SIMMONDS OF ILLINIOS: From the point of view of a visitor to various State institutions and work with them, we haven't opportunity to criticize the superintendents of the various institutions and I have just one emphatic word I would like to say here that is suggested by the paper, and that is the lack I have found in the visitation of institutions of personal sympathetic touch. I have interviewed large numbers of girls who have been in State institutions and talked personally with them and I find that is the one cry they make, that they have nobody who really personally cares for them. That is due to the character of the home matron, I presume, is dependent upon the low salary offered princi-

pally. We give the girls everything in our State institutions in Illinois, through Mrs. Amigh, in the way of advantages and luxuries, find equipment, but the cry is still for personal sympathetic touch. It can best be illustrated. In visiting the girls in my part of the State they were brought into the room to see me and some of them I had known personally and naturally I was very much interested in them. When I left as I passed through the hall there sat two young girls who didn't belong to me and as I passed them they tried to touch me on the arm simply because I had greeted the other girls with a loving affectionate greeting. It really awakened me to a sense of the responsibility that we have with the young girl as nothing else ever did; the fact that they simply wanted to touch me. That teaches us a great deal more. Give them good baths, fine training, good comfortable clothes and everything else, but if we don't give the loving sympathy we might as well give them nothing.

MRS. EVERALL: I wouldn't say that was due to lack of sympathy on the part of the matron, because I am sure in our institution there is the keenest understanding between the girls and the officers, but the girls are very emotional and sentimental and I can easily see how a kind word from a visitor to a group of girls would touch a cord in a few girls who undoubtedly would be receiving as kind treatment, but it would make them homesick and they would want a word of approbation from the visitor as well as the other girls. I don't think that indicates there is any lack of sympathy on the part of the matron.

MRS. SIMMONDS: I wish to emphasize that this was told us by the girls who had been out of the institution for a long while and they all speak of the fact.

MRS. AMIGH: Seeing this is from Illinois and my institution has been mentioned, I think I can disprove everything of that kind by the letters that reach me now after having been out of that institution for a long time and from a large number of girls, and I think there is one right in the town where this woman lives, a girl by the name of Henderson.

MISS JESSIE D. HODDER, SOUTH FRAMINGHAM, MASS: The women I have charge of are older than the ones discussed this evening and our institution being formerly a State prison, the whole emphasis has been on the question of hard labor. You send a woman to our institution for life and she comes with a hard labor sentence; you send her on a short indeterminate sentence and it reads, at hard labor. Now, as time has gone on I think people feel that we must get away from over-industrialism in our institutions. I wonder whether the three or four superintendents that are here from schools for young women will tell me whether they are having any strong feeling that your institutions should be working more toward industrial training. It seems to me we ought to get closer toward home making and school education for our women, because after all a large percentage of women in prisons are children and perhaps you ought to get closer toward an industrial training because some of them despise housework and they are going to go into factories, and I wonder whether that question is puzzling some of you. I wish you would answer this question.

DR. BRUCE: I think we are considering it. We have different classes of girls, the city girls, and the Jewish girls coming from New York City do want the industrial training, and yet one of the most intelligent of the Jewish girls said, "Do give them the housework; they have no opportunity to learn that," and you don't know the feeling of superiority it gives the girl to know how to cook, wash and iron. Most of them know nothing about it, and after all while there are some Jewish girls who write and say that they wish they could know about office and shop

work, yet this girl who has seen most of the Jewish girls, says that none of them expressed any regret for the time they have spent in the school. We are sure that a very large number of those girls are going to marry. If we should keep them in the school long enough to give them the school work that they need and the housework and keep them to give the industrial training besides, it would be too long. Perhaps with the new building we are going to open, our new schoolhouse, we may find room and opportunity to do some of those things we want to do. I am sure we are going to continue training in housework.

MRS. HODDER: It seems to me that your home making is admirable. I don't think one jot of it ought to be taken down. Isn't there a lot of vacations in schools and periods of time which could be used to advantage? Women work nine and one half hours in our industrial rooms, but suppose one were to take a certain number of hours for academic work and factory work on efficiency basis. I don't think we have a right to let our women work on a sluggish basis; I think it ought to be up on an efficiency basis. That, for instance, is illustrated by our own institution. The machinery is old; we have a lot of machines that ought to be discarded. I think we should have trained people and the money to pay them to teach these women efficient methods so when they go in the factory, we would be sending them out absolutely red-hot for the fight of life. We ought to teach them to be good housekeepers, but there is that other element and I am not sure but it isn't up to you people more than up to me; that is, the women I get are from forty-five to seventy five and eighty, and to prepare them for industrial training isn't so vital as to prepare your young women that are leaving you at seventeen or eighteen. I was not trained for industrial training of any kind and when I became a widow I had to jump in hard and hot and had to swim hard and fast. I think if one has seven children to take care of then the thing is jump in hard and win out. If you prepare your girls industrially as well as academically it seems you have rendered a bigger service than on the purely educational.

DR. BRUCE: There is one point you have made there; that is on sluggishness of the work. We have no vacation periods. No one is compelled to speed up and that is exactly why I have sent out these letters.

MRS. HMIGH: Any further discussion of this paper? I would be glad to hear from anyone who has anything to say or any suggestions to make. If not, we will hear from the speaker, Mrs. Elizabeth Whitney.

MR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON OF ALBANY: Before we proceed to the next paper, may I present the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Whereas, the Eleventh National Conference on the Education of Defective, Delinquent and Dependent Children now about to close has been one of great interest and helpfulness to those who have been present, and

Whereas, the success of this conference is due in a large measure to certain individuals who have given largely of their time and energy to bring this about, and

Whereas, the wisdom of the organizer of this National Conference has been fully interested in the very valuable contribution the Conference has annually made to the development of this special field of education and philanthropy, and in the delightful and inspiring association its members enjoy with each other,

Therefore be it resolved, that we express our gratitude and appreciation to the President of the Eleventh Conference who has so genially and ably presided over our deliberations, to the secretary for his untiring ef-

fort preparations for the conference and to bring the conference to the attention of its members; to the speakers who have so carefully prepared and presented papers and addresses for our consideration; to the management of the Hotel Statler for the use of this beautiful assembly hall, and

Be it further resolved, that we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to assure the officers of the Twelfth Conference to make it the most successful of the series.

I move the adoption of these resolutions.

A VOICE: Second the motion

MRS. AMIGH: The motion is that these resolutions be adopted by this conference. Any remarks? If not, all in favor will give us the usual sign, raising the right hand. Contrary the same. It seems to be carried. It is carried.

Is there any other business to come before the conference in regard to the next conference? If not we will hear the paper by Mrs. Elizabeth Whitney.

MRS. ELIZABETH WHITNEY, SUPERINTENDENT, NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, WASHINGTON, D. C: Besides the announced title of my paper, I would like to announce a subtopic which is to my mind more definite, and that is, "The Ounce of Prevention."



Sex Hygiene In Its Relation To Vocational Training And The Defective Delinquent.

THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION

Mrs Elizabeth A. Whitney.

Supt. National Training School for Girls, Washington, D.C.

Industrial education, applied through the understanding of vocational training, gives the technical means for success.

The questions which the world asks each boy and girl upon leaving our schools is—"What can you do well?"

The ability to do well—to live a successful life, requires in addition, an understanding grasp of intangible things. A daily "Walking in the way of holiness."

I will not waste one moment on railing at adverse conditions. We need to drag them into the blazing light of noon-day for analysis, and then proceed to supplant them by right conditions.

The object of this paper is to learn how we are affecting this change.

Many failures are due to ignorance or wilful violation of sex laws.

Our schools are full of victims of these conditions. The morally defective delinquents are the saddest of this group. At present, segregation seems the imperative and wisest disposition to make of these boys and girls.

The only right living must be voluntary. This is brought about through educating man in the knowledge that he is not in truth, controlled by impulse. This clears the way for destroying the co-operation with evil suggestion without which it is helpless.

The discordant thought, which is the cause of each discordant act, can be corrected only by an harmonious thought.

"As a man thinketh, so is he" for we agree that reformation is "transformation, through the renewing of the mind."

What can we contribute today toward making purity of thought a habit with the child? I say child because I know we are a unit in upholding the single standard of morals.

I will dwell, for a few moments, on mental sex hygiene:

the strong, clean controlled thought of sex, which is the real source of prevention and cure.

Teach youth to regard one another as spiritual individualities not as persons measured by the senses. This thought, alone, lifts them above and beyond innumerable temptations.

Hold up to the mind the multiplied truth that "to be carnally minded is death, to be spiritually minded is life and peace; and that real pleasure and happiness lie only in expressing truth, holiness, courage, self-control, honesty and unselfishness.

To insure this we must destroy with truth, the ages long secrecy and implied impurity, surrounding this subject of sex.

The world today demands this.

It is, no doubt, a difficult, because unaccustomed subject for the average teacher to present, but each honest effort to ennoble this hitherto ignored topic, is rewarded with an understanding response that is most reassuring and encouraging.

We cannot, of course, depend only upon specialists. The need is too universal and too urgent. We are deeply indebted to them for facts and advice and material as it comes to us through the press, but our duty as teachers is, to fit ourselves to present this subject. To learn and teach how and learn more and teach better.

Dwell strongly upon the imperative need of the child shunning first—the thought of impurity—whether directly or through suggestion, realizing that thoughts are the realities rather than actions.

To do this there must be constant mental activity: being ever on guard: exercising a conscious choice, in rejecting or admitting thought. Choosing to seek that which is good: thus filling the mind so full of the pure and holy that the evil cannot enter. This establishes a mental poise making it possible to preserve an undisturbed aloofness in any attack by evil suggestion

Teach the danger that lies in the vacant inactive mind where evil enters undeterred: quickly externalizing itself in word or act.

The world is over emotional and it is imperative and quite possible to present to the child the appeal of spiritual, intellectual and social values, to help save him from the modern abyss of sense enjoyment where there is constantly induced the craving for bodily excitement through the eye or ear, the sense of taste or sex activity.

When safety demands it, teach him clearly where evil

lurks and that his only safety lies in destroying the thought of evil with the thought of good.

Developing a sense of extreme fastidiousness is a powerful safeguard.

All sense activity must be brought under the absolute control of mind that the real spiritual self may dominate: for, as some one has said, "He whom the allurements of the senses cannot move can move the world."

We must drive from our own thought all lurking doubts as to the success of a complete routing of evil. Good is the only real power. We must not only believe but we must know that man is made in the image and likeness of God and we must see this likeness in our fellowmen. We must know that man has God-given power to think and act rightly and that God-Good-Governs. Know that old habits of thought and conduct can be eradicated and thoughts of the one mind take control, governing the body in truth and harmony.

I am sure we all agree that youth should be taught the simple facts in the origin of human life, sex physiology and sex hygiene.

We are trying to read just these matters in the minds of our pupils. To present the truth which is always sacred and pure and free from any appeal to sex consciousness.

Their sympathy and interest are won to such a degree that we are inspired to elaborate the work at its greatest usefulness. To this end written reproductions of the lesson and frequent contributions to the question box are helpful.

A physician member of the board of trustees gives instructive addresses.

I recommend that you tell the story "Damaged Goods." It makes a most solemn, convincing visualized thing of instruction, based on the subject of the social evil.

The "Survey" is always courageous and inspiring.

Its very opportune cover picture of the statue of the "White Slave," with the helpful comments of Dr. Kelly and others, was framed and hung in the school room, at the close of a talk on commercialized vice.

I question the wisdom of direct appeals to fear, such as harrowing the mind with detailed horrors of syphilis.

I advocate every thing constructive: everything that ennobles, idealizes, instructs, warns or safeguards: to the end that man's belief in enthrallment by sex may be destroyed and the truth of man's absolute dominion over sex be established in deed and in truth.

This paper is an appeal for the experience of this confer-

ence in teaching this subject. We welcome instruction. We are grateful for inspiration.

Let us hear about the work that is being done.

The pioneer spirits are here: those who are bravely leading and many who are following, actuated by a lofty spirit and ideal

DISCUSSION

MRS. AMIGH: Mrs. Martha P. Falconer of Darlington, Pa; will open the discussion of this paper.

MRS. MARTHA P. FALCONER OF DARLINGTON, PA; Madam Chairman and Friends: I would like to take a few minutes first and speak on the first subject. I listened with much interest to the papers and I think Dr. Bruce hit upon a clever idea when she asked the various people who were employing her girls and the girls themselves for suggestions and criticisms. A few years ago, I asked our girls of the higher grade if this school prepared for citizenship; if not, why not; and I received some very illuminating suggestions from the girls themselves. We receive a good many criticisms from time to time from people who employ our girls and chief among them is that we give them too good a time; the girls are unhappy and unwilling to stay in the homes where we place them because they miss the activities and good times of the school. I am frequently told that we pamper our girls, that they are unwilling to stay where we place them and the people resent that; they feel that it is entirely wrong. Why do we make those girls have a good time and why should we expect a girl to go into someone's home where she goes as a mother's helper and be satisfied to sit on the back porch which is clean, as I am told by the women that employ her, and expect that girl to be satisfied and happy? We will have to meet that from time to time. If we keep our girls straight by giving them wholesome recreation, the people outside have got to do it in the same way and they have got to have some opportunity to have a good time which is a natural thing. We might as well meet it and face it, for if we don't give it to them they will take it for themselves. All those of us who listened yesterday afternoon to the meeting realized the honest difference of opinion on this subject. I admire Mrs. Whitney's bravery, as I understand she has only colored girls, when she says that these girls must have this mental activity. Now, if she can keep her colored girls pure and teach them to have pure thoughts with mental activity, she certainly has a very different class of girls from what I have in my school. We have nearly five hundred girls in my school, nearly one-fourth are colored, a larger proportion than any other reformatory in this country, and it is a problem. Some of us have groups of little children who don't belong there, the victims of rape, sent by the courts in country districts because the judges don't know what else to do with these children. I am hoping that the time will come when Pennsylvania will not send me a group of little children because they don't fit in. More and more we are getting the older girls who have had all the experiences of life, who have been professional prostitutes? I believe in sex education. I stand for it, but we mustn't claim too much for it. Why do the girls drift into prostitution? I don't think education on sex matters will ever keep one single girl from going into prostitution. Not one. Girls drift into prostitution, I believe, first not through

an inherent sense of wanting to do the wrong thing; they don't realize the consequence; they don't care; they leave home, I think, largely in the first place for a good time. In the country districts there is no opportunity for the recreation; they are going to have a good time at any cost in the cities and the most difficult and hopeless cases come from Philadelphia far more than the industrial centers. I hail with delight the Pennsylvania Dutch and Slavic girls, but from Philadelphia come the washed-out Americans who have had all the experiences of life and who had all the excitement which a big city can give them. Now, why do these girls drift into prostitution from the rural districts? Largely because they want to have a good time, because my Pennsylvania Dutch girl won't stand any more discipline. A girl of any sort of individuality will jump the traces and take the thrashing and go to the dance. Then she is brought to the city by the men who are more and more making a business of commercialized vice. As a member of the Vice Commission of Philadelphia, we worked over a year on that problem and I realized more and more the tremendous business which this is and what a tremendous commercial business it is and how many girls are shipped into the city; they have to be to keep the business alive, because it is such a tremendous commercial business. Now, those girls, I believe, first go wrong because of that wrong personality of the man and the man playing on the most holy and sacred thing in a woman, the love she may have for him. A girl may go to any extent, to any extreme, follow a man anywhere because she has learned to care for him foolishly and unwisely. He promises to marry her and brings her to the city and then she begins to find out things, but still she cares for that man, and so the most difficult things we have to do is to get a girl to be willing to testify against a man. There was a pretty girl whom I had paroled home; we lost traces of her for a long while; she was brought down to the city and put in one of the most expensive houses of prostitution. When the houses are raided and she was arrested, we brought her back and the man was arrested because he had brought her down and was collecting her wages. Could we get that girl to testify against that man? No. The district attorney tried and I tried every way to make that girl willing. "Would you like your sisters to go through what you have gone through?" She was completely down and out and he had been collecting her wages and yet she cared for that man and would not testify against him, and we have that over and over again. Would sex education help that girl? Not one bit. She still is going to have a good time; she still is going to be passionately fond of some man and willing to follow him to the ends of the earth; so don't let's claim too much for it. We must realize that there is this honest difference of opinion. Now, most of the girls have had all the experiences of life, with the exception of these younger girls who have no place at all in the reformatory. Let's do all we can to help them by probation.

Now, sex education ought to be a factor in our training of these girls. It is not going to help them as much as some people would claim for it. They have seen too much of the wrong kind of men, and I think we ought to teach them all we can, though they have had experiences of life, though many of them have had children and though they are diseased. It is a pity that this education couldn't have come earlier. So it is with many other things. We may emphasize our household work and I thoroughly approve of it, but that isn't going to save her from prostitution if an attractive man comes along. They are weak-willed; we are working with the wrecks of humanity and that is not going to keep that girl straight even though we have taught her to be a good

home maker and good cook and we give her instruction in sex education; that is not going to give her will power to resist that temptation. If it is a good thing for the delinquent girl, it ought to be good for the dependent children before they come to us. We have the opportunity of trying some things out in our schools. Even though the girl is suffering from venereal disease and perhaps has had a child, a little late we say to give them instruction in these matters; yes, but they had better have it, and I am glad we have been able to do it. We have been able to have Miss Crary come to us to give a series of talks; we hail her coming with delight because she enters into our school life; she gives it to us through her nature work. When she is giving a series—she comes for a series of six or eight talks with different groups of girls—I insist upon every teacher and officer that I have, or attendant if you chose to call them so, attend a series of those talks. Now, that dignifies it with the girl and the more we do with our children and the less we do for them, the better. If we walk with them; if we read with them; if we go to the classes with them, it makes it much more worth while. So when we have Miss Crary, I will say to my teacher, it is a great privilege for you and I want you to attend one of these series. I love to turn the wheels around the other way and if the girls are to meet Miss Crary at nine o'clock, every girl is going to be there promptly and be ready for her at nine o'clock and the teachers will try and go when they can. It has been one of the greatest helps to have the teachers and officers go and enter into that work. Miss Crary often gives her work out-doors. All nature is an open book and she gets her material out-of-doors and it has been very illuminating the questions which our own girls especially have asked. It is a pity that some of this instruction couldn't have come before, but that is true of a good deal of our work. But if sex education is good for the delinquent girl, it ought to be good for her before she comes to us: I think we want to stand for it, but we want to realize that there is this honest difference about it. Segregation some of us thought would come up for discussion, but that was unanimously accepted. When it came to sex education we debated and discussed and discussed morning, noon and evening: there was such an honest difference of opinion about it. The teachers were not ready to give it, but let's stand for sex education for boys and girls. What is good for our boys in the institutions ought to be good for them before they come to us. We urge that the teachers be prepared to give this instruction and some of them are ready to concede that it ought to go into the high schools, but I am always thinking of the vast number of boys and girls who never reach the high schools. If these things are good for the high school pupils, let's try to give them for the children who don't reach the high schools. We must bring it in carefully; we must realize this difference of opinion, but I think we must continually try to push back to the lower grades in our schools. I feel no superintendent here has a right to be indifferent to the causes any more than we want to put our heads in the sand and let the stream run over us. Why are you receiving more boys and asking for more cottages every year, and why more girls? What is the matter with the machinery of your State? You would be doing the greatest service for your State if you could show up the source of supply and people ought to be able to turn to you more and more. Why are you receiving so many boys and girls? We ought to know the causes; we ought to be interested in the causes of prostitution, for so many of the girls have been so immoral, and what can we do to prevent it. It isn't enough for the superintendents to shut up in the walls of their cottages and think it is their special job to run that institution, and the people ought to turn to us and have us interpret, if we can, some of the things

going on in that state. What is the matter in the rural districts that the children are drifting to the cities? Why is Brother Barnabas selecting his boys from the city to go into the country and not go back into the city? What is the matter with the rural districts that they cannot hold their girls and boys there? What are we going to do to prevent it? Will sex hygiene ever stop it? No, I don't think it will. The girls and boys ought to have that instruction; I heartily endorse what Mrs. Whitney has said; I heartily endorse the frank talks with the girls, but I don't think that will ever save a girl when she has made up her mind to have a good time. It is the monotony they are tired of, and they haven't had the opportunity for a good time. Let's do all we can to get sex education in our own schools and endorse it. It is needed in the country and city schools, but let's also not claim too much for it, because I don't think it will accomplish all some people will claim for it, and do all we can to emphasize some of the preventive measures. I don't think we need to be afraid we will legislate ourselves out of a job if we feel we are going to show up the source of supply. There are plenty of people who would call us blessed and give us a much better job, but you ought to know why you are getting so many girls and boys and you ought to care and ought to go back to that district when opportunity affords, as I do when I go to Bethlehem and other places, and say, I will take care of the girl coming to me, but who is going to take care of the other girls of this family? Extend probation until we have it in every county. Extend recreation so the girl need not feel there are things to go to the city for good times, and give them the opportunity which the young people must and will have. If we don't provide it for them in the right way, they are going to get it in the wrong way. Emphasize the preventive work, then I think we will have fewer girls drifting into prostitution, fewer girls going to the city if they can have a good time in their own communities.

We allow very few of our girls to go to the factory. We prefer the simpler homes in the country districts on the farms where the social lines are less distinctly drawn and where the girl may have some opportunity for a social life. You may take it for a fact if a girl had a right kind of home in the first place she wouldn't have come to us. Of course, it takes the cooperation of the courts and probation officers to hold that girl from returning to her home. It cannot always be done, but I am sorry to let a girl go back home. If she can't go back to her own home, then she has got to have a home life and she cannot get that in a large city.

Sex hygiene may help her some, but with the poor material we have to work with I don't believe it would keep any girl from drifting into temptation again. She sees such elaborate dressing and loose dressing on the street and she wants to copy, and why should we expect these girls to dress simpler when they don't see it about them. She wants those good things and too often she is willing to sell her body to get them, because she doesn't stop to think. She drifts and drifts and drifts until she is picked up and returned again to us. That is the material we have to rehabilitate and push back into the community again to meet these great temptations, and it is one of the most difficult things to give the girl the opportunity for recreation and not have her abuse that privilege. Every week I am called up, often on long distance phone, by girls who ask if they can keep company. I always reply, yes, to the horror of one of my older visitors. She always feels I am making more trouble for her, but I am thankful in having that girl go to the expense of calling up and asking consent when she wants to keep company. I am not sure but what I should have done it without asking permission when a girl. I always say

yes, and then ask what kind of company they are going to keep, and usually send the visitor as quickly as I can to see where she is going and who the man is. It is difficult to get the sympathy of the people where she may be placed to help her. I don't think sex hygiene education is going to solve that at all. When the invitation comes to go to a dance, she wants to go very much and we probably would want to do the same thing at her age if we had had the same neglect and lack of opportunity for play that she had before coming to us.

MRS. AMIGH: There are others who would undoubtedly like to take part in this discussion.

MRS. BIGELOW OF ROCHESTER: I would like to ask Mrs. Falconer and the superintendents of institutions if probation or parole is good after a girl has been in an institution. Why isn't probation better before they go to an institution—probation properly administered—and why does it so often fail. It seems to me that 75 per cent. of the girls coming to the juvenile court are brought there on account of immoral conduct and if sending them back to their home is unwise, why not have the probation officer place them in other environment instead of sending them to institutions?

MRS. FALCONER: That is done in some communities. In Chicago we advertise for homes for troublesome girls. I remember one answer we had was over in Michigan and we placed a troublesome girl there. The woman had no children and lived on a farm and the girl did not know she was to be a parlor boarder. I received a letter shortly afterwards from this woman; "Dear Mrs. Falconer: You advertised for a place for troublesome girls; did you realize how troublesome girls they are?" It is difficult to take a girl away from home, but the trouble comes when the girl is longing for her freedom and the mother and father are not willing. The trouble with the Jewish girl who wants a good time; her mother doesn't understand the American ways of giving the girl the freedom, so she goes too far so many times. Oftentimes the girls pretend they are working in the department stores and take home wages at the end of each week. They often make their parents believe they are working when they are leading an immoral life.

MRS. BIGELOW: I don't know why a judge cannot change a girl's home just as well as send her to an institution.

MRS. FALCONER: Just because a mother will shed tears and make such a scene in court, and it is a very terrible thing to take the girl away from home, and off she goes.

EX—JUDGE GEORGE A. LEWIS, BUFFALO: Will you allow a mere man to inject a few remarks? The lady near me has been inquiring about the operation of probation on young girls. My experience is such that I am able to speak with some certainty and the trouble is here. Girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen, the ages at which they may be received at Hudson, and I fancy that no experienced woman will contradict me when I say in all the cases of juvenile delinquency under the age of fifteen coming to the juvenile court or other court that in 60 or 80 per cent it is the direct fault of the unworthy mother that lands her there. Now, we have no law here for breaking up homes unless they are smashed all to pieces by the children's aid societies or other institutions of that kind, and, as Mrs. Falconer observed, that when a delinquent is brought to court the mother generally follows. The girl is hysterical and overcomes the judge and he says, "Run along little girl and be a good girl," and she is sent back home. A girl on probation at the age of which I speak has no supervision at home. Assume that failure of control at home and assuming the surreptitious character of her delinquency—she is

not a boy and her grave offenses of childhood are not those of boys—she can dress up and report to the probation officer on appointed days and say, “Yes ma’am, or No ma’am,” and go right back without anyone knowing anything about it, excepting an inferior mother.

MRS. WEST OF MEMPHIS TENN: The juvenile court in Memphis I wanted to say for the delinquent girl that I think one reason probation is not best for her is first of all she is untrained. If there were enough consecrated people in the world who would be willing to take one girl into their families, running the risk of contamination to their own families through that girl, in order to save that girl, may be probation would work, but just as a very sick person needs a hospital, a soul-sick girl needs an institution, and after she has been there and had the discipline of that institution for a while, then I believe she is ready for probation. I speak with some experience because I am the assistant of our juvenile court. No girl that passes through our court does so without my recommendation. I have never been too tired, too busy as long as that girl would stay and talk to me, because I have been trying to find out just what we can do to help them.

One other word I would say, I don’t think any sort of knowledge we can teach our girls can save them. They know pretty well what they are facing; they are not ignorant; many of them can teach me things I had never dreamed of, so it is not through ignorance that they sin. One girl told me the truth about it when she said, “You know, we just love to go out with the swells; that is the only way we ever see them.” It was a craving for higher strata in society than she could ever hope to occupy in any other way, so she was willing to sacrifice her claim to decency in order to go with the swells.

I wanted to ask what the rest of you do with your girls where the fathers and mothers plead with the juvenile court judge to take that girl home to bad conditions again, and where they appeals to other courts. What success do you have in dealing with those cases, in defeating those appeals? What do you do with the men that ruin these girls? That is what I am anxious about. Is it best where the girls sin to make her shame public in order to punish that man and thus save some other girl, or shall we go as we have done all these years and put the girl away somewhere and let the man go free? That is what I wanted to know. Won’t somebody please answer me?

EX JUDGE GEORGE A. LEWIS: I would be pleased to answer your question about the appeals. If you are proceeding under the law that gives you the authority to place out a girl to foster parents or institutions, that child may be held there with ease against any writ of habeas corpus. The judge dismisses the petition or the writ and that happens here every little while in this country community. We have had a large experience in the shape of efforts of brothel keepers to release their inmates detained in the house of refugee and it is defeated.

MRS. WEST: How about when the fathers and mothers bring those writs?

EX-JUDGE LEWIS: It don’t make any difference.

MRS WEST: We have judges who are sentimentalists and they say the child should be with its mother; she is still its mother; that is what they say. Of course, we defeat some of them; we work hard, but that is what we face down in our country. What do you do with the men; can anybody tell me what you do?

A VOICE: Take him before a justice of the peace; if he pleads guilty, he gets a minimum fine and goes on the street.

MRS. WEST: I have done better with the men than we have at

habeas corpus. We have not yet lived four years in our juvenile court in Memphis. We have sent three men to the penitentiary and we are going to send three more; we have deported two and we are going to deport five more. They are in the workhouse until I get home.

MRS. WHITNEY, Washington, D. C: In regard to this subject, we know all these dreadful things and I am just as anxious to have those men punished as anybody else, but my work is with the girls and we are trying to take up this subject and teach it. We have been told to teach it for years. Of course, the girls know a great deal of vice. Now, teach them something of virtue. I have started this thing because no one seems to have started it and I have waited and waited and gathered this material from time to time in books, etc., and there is a good deal that anyone can teach girls now. What are you teaching, and are you teaching? I would like to have that answered, because I want to know what will help me do better. We are getting some results. That is what I would like to have you talk about; if you are teaching, tell us what you are teaching and what results you are getting.

MRS. JESSIE D. HODDER, South Framingham, Mass: I started out about five or six years ago thinking I knew a great deal about sex hygiene; I was very sure I knew all about it. I practiced on some little children and they took it well, so I felt perfectly comfortable and happy. I was in charge of a department at the Massachusetts State Hospital where I had the un-married mothers. They were sent to me by physicians when it was found they were pregnant. The girl always came hoping that the physician had sent her to me with the thought I would have an abortion performed and so immediately there was the opportunity to draw a diagram of the body and show her that the baby was in there and ask her some questions as to how she thought that baby could come out. She thought it would come out by taking medicine. I told her I believed that wasn't possible. I kept on showing the diagram of the body just as I do it to my women at my reformatory. The other day a colored woman who declares she has had four legal husbands came to me and she thought she was pregnant and said she was going to take that child out of her. Again I resorted to the diagram. She told me she thought she could perform an abortion with a clothespin. "Do you mean to say that is the way I am made inside?" I would answer, "That is the way every woman is made inside and that is where the baby is going to stay until God opens the door for the baby to come out. How far am I getting? The difference between saying that sort of thing to women of that type and teaching those facts to the young men and women of the country, it seems to me, is a far step. It is an awfully interesting subject, the way we are made inside. At thirty I was courageous; at forty I was doubtful; at fifty, I don't know where I am, but it seems to me as one sees the young people growing up facing adolescence, etc., I am very much troubled. I keep on saying religion, prayer, exhortation, teaching, clean civics, clean morality, all the things that go to make up wholesome living must form our sex teaching. It must deal with the bigger life. A woman may become asexual; she becomes nervous; she becomes disagreeable, a very unpleasant wife, a horrible mother. If she recognizes herself as a God-given creature with all of her beauty and nature having its rightful place, then it seems to me, she is going to give richly to her children, going to make her life a wonderful thing.

How this thing can be taught in detail, I am very much puzzled at present. I have seen some adolescent young people that I have watched grow up and I should have to be more clever than now in bringing this matter to their attention. A mother with a son, I don't know what she

can say. She can teach purity; she can teach idealism; she can teach pure citizenship and she can tell God is in his heavens and all is well in the world, but there is a joy in evil doing that is frightful and terrifying, and I don't know whether I am getting foolish about it or not, but the way our good and bad women are dressing. The good women are dressing pretty nearly as bad as the bad ones are, and when you say I want you to go with nice girls and he can see the women outside the reformatories looking well-dressed and the girls he goes with to school with slit-up skirts and peek-a-boo waists until they can hardly have anything hidden, he is in doubt about the whole thing. When I started in this work I was tremendously courageous, I was terribly sure I was going to settle the world at thirty. Will somebody else answer some of the questions?

MRS. AMIGH: Our time is getting along, but if there is anyone else with anything to say, we will be glad to hear him.

A VOICE: I would like to ask some questions. As just an observer at this conference, I would like to mention a few impressions gotten yesterday and today. Yesterday, I went to that wonderful meeting of the International Hygiene Congress and listened to one person after another and I began to get lower and lower in spirits, and when the Reverend Father Tierney got up to speak about education I began to think we were all going to abomination as fast as we can, but tonight it seems as if the women have sounded the keynote to the whole thing and this is not illuminating at all. In New York City, you find the so-called respectable women very much painted, and, as our instructor said, I cannot tell the difference, and isn't it a part of this whole change; there is no simplicity in our life; it is very complex. The whole standards of life are changing and we are in a transition period and we are drifting around without anchors and the girl in the department store isn't so very much different than the rest of us, only she gets her ideas from the women trading with her. These are simple questions that have come to me as I sat and listened to this discussion.

MRS. HODDER: Mrs. Whitney, when speaking on sex questions, said she didn't think we ought to tell the awful horrors of venereal disease. I have only been superintendent of the reformatory for women for two and one-half years and I think I find that lack of knowledge of venereal diseases has been one of the reasons they have come to that institution. This thing happened not very long ago. We are taking tests and finding out what percentage have syphilis or not. The percentage is very high of those who have it. One young girl got very indignant. The doctor ordered certain treatment for her and she got so indignant about it that she came to me to make a complaint, and as I sat and talked with her, she said, I have taken every precaution during my life as a prostitute (she began about fourteen and was now seventeen or eighteen) and I know I never have had a venereal disease and she told me a remedy doctors had told her of to keep her from having it. Since giving these tests, I have made up my mind that I shall ask our physician to give a regular course in the dangers of syphilis, gonorrhea with the reflectoscope and I shall have the women instructed, not necessarily the ways of prevention; I shall not talk about that thing, but the need for treatment. Further than that we have decided to take advantage of a law which has long been in vogue in Massachusetts, but which we haven't always used, to keep in the institution until permanently cured women who have syphilis, so they shall not go out of the institution until completely cured. I think it is not fair to a woman to say, you must stay and get cured, unless you show her the possibilities, and then a young girl will not say to you, it is all right for you to talk about locomotor ataxis and the falling

off of the nose, but I have never seen anyone in all my acquaintance who have had any of those things. That is perfectly true. These diseases are as treacherous as they can be. If we all wore a mask of the debauchery, the world would get cured at once, but I am convinced that we have got to give them daily instruction and pictures showing them what these diseases are and what their ravages are, even to the third and fourth generation of them that hate God. It seems that is essential. I think general sex hygiene to women like that is difficult. I am shy of talking to them about it because I know they have so many more things in their minds. What can you say to women of that type when they will tell you that the best men in the community, even clergymen, go to these brothels and houses of prostitution? What can you do? You are absolutely staggered. It is a difficult thing to tell them about the purity of men and women and of the best families. You are absolutely stumped.

W. W. HALLAM OF THE CHICAGO SOCIETY OF HYGIENE:
In regard to sex education, we have had a good deal of experience in Chicago, some of it successful, some of it has not been successful. The effort to teach men sex education is comparatively simple. You can start with the presumption that men will get into trouble if not warned and guarded. But not with women. Some without any education whatever will never get into trouble and another will get into trouble in spite of all the education you can give them, but there can be a great many helped by knowing what is right and what is wrong. We have had women physicians talk on sex subjects to girls, and they would gather groups together and talk to them. In talking to mothers, of course, they could talk very plainly, because these mothers were old enough to appreciate. In talking to girls, we tried it in one of the department stores. We had a good teacher, one who had been a success, but she talked too plainly to them and the girls were offended and the department store management went up in the air and stopped it immediately. The presumption was that they were talking to girls to keep them from going wrong, and the girls thought they had character enough to keep themselves from going wrong and the effort was insulting. However, there have been successful talks to the telephone girls. Dr. Josephine Young, she is an active church woman and a good physician and a lady of nice instincts, would talk generally on the subject of reproduction rather than sex hygiene. The question of diseases was brought in incidentally and they talked not only of reproduction, but what it meant to be a mother and the care of the infants after birth and other things; in other words, to fit the girl for motherhood and know what it meant and we have heard no complaint whatever from that.

In New York I was looking over some records of lectures that had been given in settlements to girls on the subject of sex hygiene; I think they gave two or three lectures to the same group of girls and divided the topics, starting with morals and manners, sex hygiene, parenthood, and something in regard to married life, the idea being not to over-estimate the mere fact of sex, but to put it in its place as a portion of the scheme. The girls afterward said they were much helped by it. They asked questions; they asked how a child was born, some thought the mother had to be cut open, didn't know at all, and they felt that they were stronger and better for the education but we find that the success or failure of educational effort depends much more on the teacher than on the method. Two different teachers will make a success in opposite methods and one will say certain methods cannot be used; another will use those methods and be successful. It depends on the tact and ingenuity of the teach

er and in being able to judge the child first and judge the subject second and to fit them. We have had better experience in teaching the men. We issued a leaflet for young men. That leaflet was used by hundreds of colleges, four hundred Y. M. C. A's, three state boards of health and some churches. They said it was a good and useful leaflet. It was twice condemned by the dive keepers and keepers of the houses of prostitution as an immoral leaflet and they appealed twice to the police department to suppress it on that ground. They said it was costing them from three to four hundred dollars a night every time it was distributed. It shows it does stop boys in that district. There are a good many things I could say, but the time is nearly up.

MR. COFFEEN: Is there any other business to come before the meeting. I think the time is so far along that we must close the discussion at this point. Mrs Amigh has asked me to close the meeting. Is there any further business?

MRS. WEST OF MEMPHIS: I wanted all of you to come to Memphis. You will find us so glad to have you for that great conference next year. I know it will make everyone of you happy to be there and help us, so please all come to Memphis.

MR. COFFEEN: The meeting is now adjourned.



Alphabetical Index of Speakers and others Participating in the Conference Discussions.

Name	Occupation	Address	Page
Adams, Col. C. B.,	Supt. St. Charles School for boys,	St. Charles, Ill.	30, 31
Addams, Hon. Geo. S.	Judge of Juvenile Court.	Cleveland, Ohio	All Sessions
Alexander, Mrs. Caroline	Pres't, New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians,	Hoboken, N. J.	41
Amigh, Mrs. Ophelia L.,		Birmingham, Ala.	19, 34, 35, 151, 164, 165, 169, 176
Baker, Hon. Harvey H.	Judge of Juvenile Court,	Boston, Mass.	27, 28, 35
Barnabas, Rev. Brother	Lincoln Agricultural School,	Lincolndale. N. Y.	131
Barrows, Dr. Franklin W.	Medical Inspector of Schools,	Buffalo, N. Y.	33, 34, 77, 78
Bigelow, Mrs. Fannie		Rochester, N. Y.	29, 77, 143
Black, Hon. Samuel B.	Judge Juvenile Court,	Columbus, Ohio.	39, 40
Bohne, Grace M.	Director, Child Study Laboratory,	Rochester N. Y.	76, 77
Button, Dr.		Rochester N. Y.	45
Brown, Geo. R.		Yonkers, N. Y.	18
Brown, Edw. F.	Supt. Bureau of Welfare of School Children,	New York.	54
Bruce, Dr. Hortense V.	N. Y. State Training School for Girls,	Hudson, N. Y.	156, 163
Clopper, Edw. N., Ph. D.	Supt. House of Refuge for Children,	Cincinnati, Ohio.	22, 47
Coffeen, Elmer L.	Supt. Lyman School for Boys,	Westboro, Mass.	5, 150
Critchley, Bertha M.	Teacher, Cleveland Public Schools,	Cleveland, Ohio.	75
Curtis, Frances G.	Member State Board of Charity,	Boston, Mass.	147
Dowell, Dr.			89
Everall, Mrs. Amy F.	Supt. Girls' Industrial School,	Lancaster, Mass.	37, 130, 152, 163
Falconer, Mrs. Martha P.	Supt. Girls' Schools,	Darlington, Pa.	17, 36, 169, 173
Farrell, Elizabeth E.	Inspector of Ungraded Classes, Dept. of Education,	New York City.	68, 75, 76, 77
Gardner, E. E.	Supt. Sockanosset School for Boys,	Howard, R. I.	90
Hallam, W. W.	School of Hygiene,	Chicago, Ill.	177
Hart, Dr. Hastings H.	Director, Child Helping Dept., Russel Sage Foundation,	New York City.	All Session
Hebberd, Robt. W.	Sec'y, N. Y. State Board of Charities,	Albany, N. Y.	133, 134,

Henderson, Mrs. Rose,	Juvenile Court,	Montreal, P. Q.	148
Hickson, Dr. Wm. J.	The Training School,	Vineland, N. J.	40
Hill, Mrs. Helen F.		Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pa.	29, 30
Hodder, Mrs. Jessie D.	Supt. Reformatory Prison for Women,	So. Framingham, Mass,	31, 44, 163, 164, 175, 176
Hunter, Joel D.	Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court,	Chicago, Ill.	55, 56, 146
Johnson, Alex.	Dir. Exten. Department, Training School,	Vineland, N. J.	30, 48, 44, 99
Johnson, Chas. H.	Supt. Albany Orphan Asylum,	Albany, N. Y.	23, 119, 164
Laird, B. L.	Supt., Cleveland Boys' Home,	Hudson, Ohio.	125
Lewis, Judge, Geo. A.		Buffalo N. Y.	173, 174
Lewis, O. F., Ph. D.	Gen. Sec'y, Prison Association of New York,	New York City.	22, 40, 57, 58, 59
Lee, Porter R.	Member of Staff of N. Y. School of Philapthropy,	New York City	144
Penn, W. F.	Supt. Penn. Training School,	Morganza, Pa.	29, 34, 76, 117
Roberts, W. E.	Supervisor of Manual Training, Public Schools	Cleveland, Ohio.	9
Sargent, Albert J.	Chief Probation Officer Juvenile Court,	Boston, Mass.	28
Scully, Florence E.	Teacher,	Chicago, Ill.	21
Simmonds, Mrs. K. C.	Probation Officer.	Galesburg, Ill.	162, 163
Terman, Prof. Lewis M.	Prof. of Education, Leland Stanford Junior University,	Stanford University, Cal.	78
Wade, Frank E.	Vice-Pres't State Probation Commission,	Buffalo, N. Y.	28, 29, 30, 33
West, Mrs. Benj.	Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court,	Memphis, Tenn.	55, 178
Whitney, Mrs. E. A.	Supt. National Training School for Girls,	Washington, D. C.	45, 165, 166
Wolfenstein, Dr. S.	Supt. Jewish Orphan Asylum,	Cleveland, Ohio.	17, 118, 125, 130, 132